

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1919

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THE GRAVE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT AT OYSTER BAY, ON HIS
BIRTHDAY, OCTOBER 27

(The scene is that of the arrival of the Roosevelt Flag, upon which stars had been sewn by school girls,
as described in Mr. Hagedorn's article in this number of the Review—see page 483)

Photograph by Illustrated News, New York

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LX.

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NO. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

[TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND READERS: *This November number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS makes its appearance fully half a month late by reason of a printers' strike in New York City. Such delay does not, however, imply staleness in the treatment of current topics, or in the program of contributed articles; for the entire number from first page to last is written or edited as of the moment of going to press, which is at the beginning of the second week of November.*

There will be no difficulty in issuing future numbers, and lost time will be regained by making the intervals a little less than a month. Thus the December number will be issued early next month, and the January number will appear between Christmas and New Year's Day.

Our readers, like those of many other periodicals, have been considerate and patient; and advertising patrons have well understood that the publishers were not seeking selfish advantage in withstanding strike demands, but were firmly supporting sound principles of justice, and methods of order and reasonableness, in the settlement of differences between employers and wage earners.

It is not our custom to make editorial allusion to our own affairs; but this brief word of explanation is due to our readers because our delay of several weeks is also their affair. We are soon to enter upon the thirtieth year of this periodical, with unbroken continuity of editorship and management. Through this period the REVIEW has tried to uphold the principles of American freedom, and to interpret current movements as related to the progress of the country and the world. If our point of view was optimistic thirty years ago, it is even more so to-day.

Ahead of us lies a year of political activity and industrial and social ferment; but it will also be a year of great opportunity for those who are minded to help keep the country sound and sane. This REVIEW hopes to be able to promote the wise objects of all those who are working for the nation's integrity and for its further upbuilding.—THE EDITOR.]

The Greatest
Post-War
Industrial Crisis

As the present month of November opened, with the first anniversary of the Armistice close at hand, the convulsive disturbances that had been affecting the social and economic life of Europe—in the endeavor to turn from four years of war struggle to a normal balance of peacetime conditions—had, like some great tidal wave, swept across seas to break upon our American shores. What seemed the climax of industrial disturbance in Great Britain had been reached just a month earlier. On October 3 an Associated Press dispatch from London summed up the situation in the great British railroad strike then pending, as follows:

After seven days the railroad strike situation to-night became the gravest in the history of any labor crisis of the British Empire in the present generation. All efforts of the Transport Work-

ers' Federation to find a bridge to enable a renewal of negotiations between the government and the National Union of Railwaymen failed.

The government's proposal for a seven days' truce for the rail men to return to work and permit resumption of negotiations on the disputed points, coupled with the offer by the government to resort to arbitration in the event of failure to reach an agreement, has been rejected by the railwaymen's union, and the whole possibility of mediation for the moment has collapsed.

At the same time, it was announced that at a meeting of trade union delegates, following the conference with Premier Lloyd George, it was decided to convene in London on Tuesday a congress of all the trade unions in the United Kingdom, to discuss the situation.

The Premier in the course of a conference to-day made an impassioned appeal to the railway men to accept the offer of arbitration, and it is reported that some delegates of the transport workers were in favor of accepting the offer.

Robert Williams, general secretary of the Transport Workers' Union, in a statement to the

press to-night referred to the breakdown in negotiations to-day as "lamentable" and announced that the congress of trade unions had been convened for Tuesday to "engage in any form of moral and sympathetic support of the railway men in the struggle they are waging for trades unionism."

The view taken in government circles to-night is that the position is extremely grave, and all necessary steps are being taken by the government to meet the new situation.

British
Sanity
Triumphant

On October 5 a dispatch from London began with the remark that "optimism was the note on which the eighth day of the British railway strike came to a close." On October 6 the cable brought the following cheerful announcement:

With dramatic suddenness in the quiet of the London Sunday afternoon, it was announced to a knot of people waiting in Downing Street that the great railway strike which appeared to have brought the country almost to the brink of revolution was settled, and that the strikers would resume work as quickly as possible.

Labor controversies in England are by no means ended as yet, and we are almost certain to see in the near future a general election in which industrial issues will be dominant and in which the Labor party, which is controlled by trade-unionism, will endeavor to elect a majority of members of Parliament,



MR. LLOYD GEORGE, THE LITTLE WIZARD

Uncle Samuel: "Say, John, can't you lend Lloyd George to me for a week or so to settle up my strike situation?"

(From the *Star*, Montreal, Canada)

and govern the country with a labor leader for Prime Minister. But the election of members of Parliament friendly to the point of view of labor leaders is a strictly constitutional mode of proceeding; and the adoption by Parliament of such proposals as the nationalization of railroads or the operation of coal mines as Government property, while involving great actual changes, would not be revolutionary in the *method* of change.

England's
Railway
Strike

British railroads were still under Government control and operation in continuance of the war-time policy, and the strike of late September and early October was directly against the Government. Many people in England thought it was the beginning of civil war. It looked for a few days as if the coal miners, "transport" workers, and various other bodies of organized labor would strike in conjunction with the railway men. It was also feared that policemen in general would be found on the side of the strikers. "Civil guards" were called into being by the Government, and scores of thousands of citizens undertook to make the strike a failure by helping to bring food into London on motor trucks, to move passengers in omnibuses and automobiles, and to operate railroad trains at least to a limited extent. Even the King and Queen could not secure railroad services, and motored 500 miles from their summer home (Balmoral in Scotland) to London. Trade-unionism is much stronger relatively in England than in the United States; but the attempt of the railway workers, supported by other unions, to enforce particular technical demands by sheer attack upon the vital processes of the country itself was doomed to failure.

Reason and
Humanity of
Official Group

However much or little of arrogance there might have been on the part of the British labor leaders—and it must be admitted that their manner and tone are usually far better than those of American labor leaders—there was very little of the autocratic or of the high note of authority in the attitude assumed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George. He and his right-hand man, Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the House of Commons, together with those two masterful and remarkable brothers now foremost in the Government's dealings with transportation and industry, Sir Auckland Geddes and Sir Eric Geddes, have not bothered much about their official

dignity, and have dealt man to man with labor on equal and democratic terms. Sir Eric, who held different administrative posts during the war and who was a practical railroad manager previous to 1914, is now Minister of Transportation and head of the Government operation of railroads. Sir Auckland Geddes—a great scientist and medical authority—enlisted and equipped armies in the war period, and is now head of the ministry that is dealing with the post-war problems of national economic life. This quartet of strong and able men met the labor leaders in a spirit of conciliation. They did their best to avert the strike, and the crisis was ended not by assertion of the majesty and power of Government as against the tenacity and strength of trade-unionism, but by a demonstration on the part of the great public that it could and would support its rights—those ordinary rights of society and of individuals.

Terms of Settlement

The controversy was chiefly about wage scales. Announced schedules would have reduced the pay in the near future of certain classes of railway workers. The strike was settled through the good offices of the leaders of the Transport Workers' Union, who brought about a friendly conference at the Prime Minister's house in Downing Street between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law on the one hand, and Mr. J. H. Thomas and other leaders of the railway men on the other hand. This Sunday meeting was courteous and open-minded on both sides. The group got up an informal lunch at midday and stayed together; and every point in dispute was met and compromised. It was agreed that the workers should resume their places immediately. Negotiations would then be re-opened, to be completed before January 1. Wages were to be stabilized at present level for another full year (until October 1, 1920). No adult railroad man in Great Britain should receive less than a minimum wage of 51 shillings (nearly thirteen dollars) per week as long as the cost of living remained 110 per cent. above the average at the beginning of the war. It was further agreed that there should be no victims, and that returning workers would work harmoniously with those who had remained at their posts, and *vice versa*. Finally, it was agreed that arrears of wages would be paid on return to work.



MR. J. H. THOMAS, HEAD OF ENGLISH RAILWAY WORKERS

(Mr. Thomas has been regarded for several years past as one of the ablest and most trustworthy of the group of British labor leaders who are also prominent Labor members of Parliament. The success of the Labor party in the English municipal elections on November 1 encourages the Labor party to plan for success at the polls as a substitute for strikes.)

Social Factors in the Contest

The strikers felt that Mr. J. H. Thomas, their leader, had accomplished a great deal for them, but he refused to claim a victory and attributed the "honorable settlement" to the "great and worthy part played by the Premier." The British press commented upon the good temper of the public in facing the terrible loss and inconvenience of a railroad strike, and regarded the settlement as a victory gained by the people at large and not by the extremists on either side of the controversy. Such a strike is a bad business and ought not to be tolerated; but in England at least the best way to avoid the danger of future strikes against the public comfort and convenience is to have a demonstration that the public can and will meet the emergency and defeat the hold-up. The five-year war period had greatly increased the efficiency of the ordinary young Englishman. Lords and Dukes were ready to drive motor trucks or handle baggage. If half a million railway workers had refused to operate trains, there would soon have been three times as many young men equal to taking

their places and probably half a million young women.

Process of
British
Reform

Industrial society in England is not to be overthrown by the menace of any organized group or element—aristocratic or otherwise—that chooses to adopt the highwayman's methods. For several generations England has been steadily reducing the advantages of the so-called "privileged classes." Political enfranchisement has been extended until now it is universal as regards men, and it includes women also. The burden of taxation has been shifted from the poor to the rich. Land monopoly is virtually a thing of the past. The controlling power of hereditary peers in the House of Lords has been ended. If "cheap labor" was once regarded as necessary to Britain's commercial preëminence, the rights of men and women are now understood and safeguarded. Industrial capital no longer grinds down the working masses. Short hours prevail, and wages are high. A new system of education has been adopted, that will give the poorest boy and girl almost as good a chance in England as the sons and daughters of the so-called "upper classes."

"Labor" in
Politics

There are specific inequalities yet to be remedied by acts of Parliament or by general agreement, but sound *methods* of progress have been vindicated in England and they will surely be sustained. It may be that a British Parliament in the near future will decide that the coal supply is so fundamental to all British enterprise, and so essentially a national rather than a private or individual resource, that it must be taken over by purchase and operated under public control. If this should be done, it would be no violent or revolutionary proceeding, but a policy that could be justified easily enough in theory if only it could be made to work well in practice. The strength of the Labor party in the English municipal elections early this month points to a possible Labor Parliament within a year or two.

Coal
Mining
and Human
Uplift

As we have remarked more than once in these pages, the traditional lot of miners in Central Europe, in Great Britain, and in the United States has been one of hardship and self-sacrifice. Modern industrial history, as related particularly to the mining of coal, surely enlists on the side of the workers the

sympathies of the lover of his fellow-men. The general movement for human betterment has also reached the miners, and it is not due to any one factor. Labor organization has played some part, political democracy an even greater part, the spirit of education and opportunity still greater; and the creation of abundance through invention, through the use of machinery, through railroads, through capitalistic development, has played the greatest part of all. Shorter hours, better standards of living, a wider diffusion of the comforts and satisfactions of life, a diminution of the evils of poverty, overwork, infectious illness and so on—these things have come as permanent acquisitions of our civilization. Wherever organized labor has taken an intelligent view of these matters, it has undoubtedly helped very much to secure better treatment of women workers, abolition of child labor, safety appliances in railroads, mines, and shops, improved sanitary conditions, suitable hours of work, and proper standards of pay. These better conditions of life, when attained by workers in more highly skilled crafts and trades, are quite sure to extend to other trades, such as mining, until there is at least an approximation everywhere towards such standards as are reasonable in view of all the facts.

"Unions"
and
the Trend
of Progress

We are not likely in our generation to see the time when these conditions can be regarded as ideal in any industry or trade. Human desires grow by what they feed upon, and a certain amount of discontent is essential to wholesome progress. Furthermore, there will be particular troubles in some kinds of work, far more serious than those complained of by workers in other callings. When men are engaged permanently in kinds of work that are thoroughly distinctive—such, for example, as the mining of coal—it is likely that they will continue to find it beneficial to be associated together in organ-



THE LION AND THE LAMB (AS YEARS AGO)

izations based upon the fact of their rendering the same kind of industrial service. It does not follow that if they were *not* associated in a particular way, as in the existing international miners' union, their grievances would remain without redress. The law of supply and demand in the labor market would still operate, and if the miners' lot were too hard the sons of miners would go off into other callings, as would most of the younger miners themselves.

**How
Public
Sentiment
Regulates**

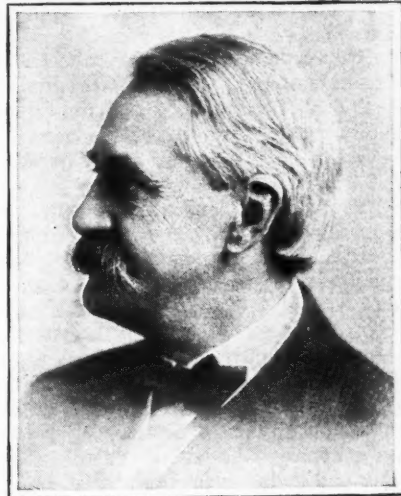
The general consciousness of the country is aroused as to the needs of decent housing, proper schooling and suitable conditions for all citizens. The workers have in their hands the secret ballot, with an honest count, and they can use it to their own advantage in local as well as in general elections. There is dominant throughout the United States—not within labor circles alone, but within all circles—an irresistible sentiment that cries out against needless extremes of wealth and poverty, and that demands a reasonable share in the good things of life for all American citizens who contribute by honest labor to the prosperity of the country.

**Arrogance
of Capital
— as it Was**

There was a time when in this country it was not easy for working men to obtain a hearing for their real or fancied grievances. It is a long story, not to be recounted in these passing editorial comments. The railroad companies a generation ago were opposed to any form of organization among their men. The heads of the railroads quite generally were unwilling to recognize the reasonableness of the principle of arbitration in labor disputes. In those days the workers, in their groups or brotherhoods or unions, would not have dreamed of advancing in their demands beyond the securing of a right to state their grievances, a right to period-



THE LION AND THE LAMB (AS NOWADAYS!)
(From the Central Press Association, Cleveland, Ohio)



© Moffett Studio

SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS, OF IOWA

(Senator Cummins champions a plan for arbitration of railroad disputes to prevent danger of future strikes)

ical negotiation, and a right to arbitrate. Arrogance was almost wholly on the side of employing capital. A great change has come about, and the employers as a rule prefer high-priced to cheap labor and desire to see their employees comfortable and happy. Furthermore, there is no general disposition on the part of employers to oppose "collective bargaining" in some form or another, while the principle of arbitration is almost universally recognized on the part of employers. Public opinion has laid its heavy hand upon railroad managers and the heads of corporations, and if such industrial "barons" or "magnates" were once arrogant towards the public, and unfeeling and irresponsible towards their employees, such is no longer the case.

**Should Railroad
Strikes Be
Abolished?**

The Cummins Railroad Bill, as introduced in the Senate a few weeks ago—to which we are referring in a subsequent paragraph as regards its general provisions—calls among other things for arbitration of disputes, to the end that neither managers nor employed men shall be guilty of harming the public by tying up the wheels of traffic. This is no novel idea. The editor of this REVIEW advocated it strongly more than thirty years ago without a hint of dissent from the leaders of the railway brotherhoods. The men who rose in indignant protest twenty-five or thirty years ago against the suggestion of compul-

sory arbitration were the presidents of railroad companies, with a vocal backing of railroad and corporation lawyers. As for the predecessors of the present heads of the railway unions or "brotherhoods," the idea of compulsory arbitration seemed to savor of the millennium—a thing too good to be hoped for in a country so dominated as they felt that ours then was by capitalistic arrogance. We had numerous and bitter railroad strikes in those days, in which the strikers as a rule had genuine grievances, and had no means of obtaining redress except through the strike method, deplorable as it was. Such strikes, years ago, were not against the general public, but against a particular railroad company. Competing roads took care of the public, and the strike controversy was one chiefly between contending private interests. A fair hearing and a chance for arbitration was the most that the brakemen or firemen or locomotive engineers were asking for in those days, some twenty or thirty years ago. Thoughtful students of the situation believed that the railroad companies, as a condition of their enjoying public franchises, ought to be compelled by law to accept the principles of collective bargaining and of arbitration. No human being supposed that the men themselves would ever repudiate the principle of arbitration!

The New Spirit of Capital

Arrogance, however entrenched it may be in the security of demonstrated power, is always a blind and stupid thing, that overreaches itself. With the turn of the century we came into a new order of things. Corporation power had been riding for a fall. It was the great function of President Roosevelt to curb the corporations; to limit the undue tendency to form unregulated trusts and monopolies; to destroy the system of railroad rebates; to bring those who controlled finance and industrial power to a recognition of the full authority of the laws of the land. Early in his Presidency he met the fundamental issues in the great anthracite coal strike, and later he dealt with monopoly power in other practical forms. But he could also rebuke arrogance in labor leadership, as we are showing (see page 485) elsewhere in this magazine. If capital was once arrogant and lawless, there is little reason to attack it on those grounds at the present moment. The owners of steam railroad property are now suffering blighting losses, and are witnessing something closely akin to the confiscation of their

honest investment. The owners of electric street railroads, and other local public utilities, who were once regarded as greedy exploiters and monopolists, are facing bankruptcy from one end of the country to the other because they are not allowed to charge enough for their services to meet their enhanced costs. Elsewhere in great industries we find a spirit of reasonableness,—a concern for the welfare of wage-earning men, women and children. All this is in happy contrast with the prevailing attitude of corporation managers a quarter of a century ago.

Wealth Recognizes Responsibility

It was popularly believed three decades ago that the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts, the Carnegies, the Hills (these names being used as typifying the class of great capitalists and employers, rather than as singling out particular individuals), were unapproachable and not like other men, but grasping and without human sympathy. As individuals, certainly, they were generous on a vast scale and broadly public-spirited. As industrial leaders, speaking of them as a class, they belonged to a school that has been superseded. Their successors are men of the twentieth-century spirit in their attitude towards industrial democracy. They conceive of capital as a collective force, and of their own function as a representative one. They are not arrogant; they do not bluster; and they realize that the period is past for the domination of industry by a group of individuals possessing great wealth and living ostentatiously. Capital is essential to production, and we cannot have too much of it for the present needs of a disturbed and war-impooverished world. It has become democratic, being diffused in the hands of millions of small investors. Labor is also vital, and its efficiency should be encouraged in every possible way.

Function of "Brains" in Industry

More important than either capital or labor, however, to the highest forms of industrial progress is what we may call "brains"—the factor of *mind*. The inventive brain of an Edison or a Westinghouse has been worth more to the economic welfare of the country than hundreds of millions of dollars in liquid capital, or the labor of hundreds of thousands of ordinary workmen. The brains of the inventor, and the brains of the man who can apply new methods—who can organize, direct and manage—are to be encouraged above all else. This requires freedom of op-

portunity, and a constant lessening of artificial distinctions between social or industrial groups and classes. With the schools turning to the teaching that prepares for practical life, we shall have new leaders coming to the front all the time, by reason of personal fitness. Leadership is relatively more valuable than either labor or capital.

**Machines and
the Modern
Boy**

We have come into an age of machinery, and the modern boy has a right to demand that he be taught all that he can learn about steam engines, gas engines, water power, electricity and the various applications of power-driven machinery to the production of articles of commerce—whether in agriculture, in mining, in transportation, in metal-working, in textiles, or in any other direction. Photography and mechanical drawing are of basic importance in many arts and industries, and should be taught in all the schools. The practice of trade unionism in restricting the number of apprentices who may learn a given craft, belongs to the Dark Ages and is an affront to the intelligence of the Twentieth Century.

**Recent Attitude
of Labor
Leaders**

The pendulum swings violently from one extreme to the other before a new equilibrium is established; and to the philosophical mind it is not strange that the momentum acquired by the labor elements in their once creditable efforts to secure recognition and better conditions should have led them to success beyond their earlier hopes, with the temptations that victory and power so often engender. This idea was expressed, at the moment of this

writing, by an office associate in whose presence these comments were being dictated. His remarks were in the following terms: "We are fighting against the abuse of power to-day by organized labor, even as we fought against the abuse of power by organized capital some years ago. Labor to-day is copying from capital's book; but it is an old book, and capital has turned over the page and gone on with the next lesson. Labor is using to-day the same relentless and ruthless methods for personal advantage of its leaders that capitalistic leaders used for the same purpose ten years ago. Organized labor lags one step behind in the march of progress, and it is now studying the lesson that it cost capital money and blood to learn. Win, lose, or draw, the leaders are the last to suffer; and, just as capital is to-day suffering from the sins of a few, so will labor to-morrow suffer as a whole, while the leaders go unscathed."

**Strikes against
the Public Are
Wrong!**

Strikes and lockouts are not to be regarded as permanent resorts. They were never pleasant or desirable; but within limits they have at times been used with salutary results. When the strike gets beyond limits, it is no longer chiefly a matter between two contending private interests. It becomes predominantly a matter of public concern. When a strike takes on national dimensions and threatens to paralyze all industry, hazarding the very lives of thousands by stopping the food supply of cities (as in the recent English railway strike), it is not to be tolerated, and it is to be put down by the solid opposition of society. The small and local railroad strike of a generation ago was bad enough, but it did not paralyze the business of any considerable region—much less of the whole country. To-day, the numerous railway unions have learned to act concertedly and to act on the national plane. A railway strike means the stoppage of the whole movement of steam traffic. Such a strike is not to be tolerated, and is without the faintest semblance of excuse if the Government will but provide a method of arbitration which the railway managers on their part agree to accept. The Senate railway bill is on solid ground in prohibiting strikes and providing for arbitration. This boon is demanded by society.



"IF THEY GET TOGETHER IT'S OUR FINISH"
(From the Times, New York)

The Great Bituminous Coal Strike

The railroad problems, and more especially the strike in the iron and steel industry, were occupying much attention until they were suddenly thrown into the background by the actual launching of a strike of the miners in the soft or bituminous coal fields. This strike began with the morning of the first day of November, and took out some 400,000 miners in almost twenty-five States, extending from Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Maryland in the East, through Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Oklahoma to Montana, Wyoming and Washington not to mention Texas, Arkansas and several other states. The strike was called by Mr. John L. Lewis, acting President of the United Mine Workers of America, on the vote of a convention held as recently as October 23, the question of a strike not being referred back to the men themselves. The demand of Mr. Lewis and his fellow leaders was for a sixty per cent. increase in wages, with work to be limited to five days a week and six hours a day. The associated mine operators were not willing to concede the demands, and Mr. Lewis was peremptory rather than conciliatory. The Secretary of Labor, Hon. W. B. Wilson (who was himself formerly a practical coal miner and an official of this very miners' union), called the operators and the strike leaders to Washington and endeavored to avert the strike; but without success.

A Plainly Unlawful Action

Secretary Wilson attributed the blame for this failure to the labor leaders, and not to the mine operators. Under any circumstances, a strike in early November in the fields producing most of the country's coal would be a very serious calamity. In the present case it was the more gravely offensive because coal production was still under the Government wartime control by virtue of the Lever act; and the strike was in the plainest violation of this federal law and was, by terms of that statute, a criminal conspiracy. Until peace is declared and the Lever act expires by limitation, it is against the law for men to unite in interfering with the production and distribution of food or of fuel. President Wilson, from his sick chamber in the White House on October 24 sent a message of appeal to the miners and operators to reach an agreement. He asked them for the sake of the welfare of the country, to continue the operation of the coal mines and to arbitrate.

Lewis versus President Wilson

On the 25th the President issued a public statement declaring that the proposed strike would be "not only unjustifiable, but it is unlawful." He warned the miners' union that the "law would be enforced and means found to protect the national interest in any emergency that might arise." He declared his readiness to appoint at once a tribunal to protect the just rights of both the private interests concerned, as well as those of the general public. Acting President J. L. Lewis of the mine workers took the astonishing course of declaring that President Wilson's attitude was "the climax of a long series of attempted usurpations of executive power." It is to be noted that both Houses of Congress had immediately adopted emphatic resolutions supporting the President and endorsing his stand, thus re-enacting, so to speak, the Lever food and fuel statutes. Mr. Lewis, on his part, declared that "the President of the United States and his Cabinet by a unanimous vote ally themselves with sinister financial interests, which seek to deny justice to labor and precipitate our country into industrial turmoil." He then attempted an argument in the field of constitutional law, to justify the right of the miners to strike.

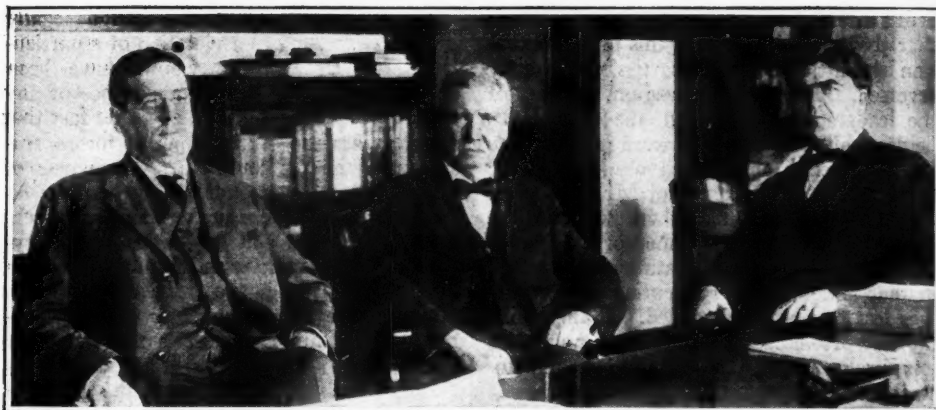
Government Tackles the Strike

For a day or two it was uncertain just how the Government would proceed, although the Attorney-General, Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer,



"WE SHALL NOT FREEZE!"

(By Harding, in the Eagle, Brooklyn, N. Y.)



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SECRETARY WILLIAM B. WILSON'S PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE TO AVERT THE COAL STRIKE

(In the picture above, Secretary Wilson occupies the center, with President Thomas F. Brewster, of the Coal Operators' Association, at the reader's left and John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, at the right)

was known to be preparing to take legal action. At length, on Friday the 31st, the Government took its first step by obtaining from Judge A. B. Anderson of the United States District Court at Indianapolis a temporary restraining order preventing the heads of the United Mine Workers from carrying on strike activities. In the brief interval of an hour before the judicial process could be served, President Lewis had sent out word to the miners to the effect that the strike was not to be averted and the injunction would merely complicate the problems involved. Mr. Lewis' prediction proved to be true, and the men actually went out as numerous as had been feared. Meanwhile the Government was proceeding with its "second line of action," this being, in our opinion, by far the more important. This "line" involved the maintenance of order, and the protection of the mines and workers against violence or intimidation on the part of the strikers. The English railway strike was broken, not by court injunctions, but by the energy of the British public in attempting to show that the strikers could not succeed in stopping the movement of food and supplies. The coal strike in the United States, as it appeared to many observers, could be brought to deserved failure by the uprising of an outraged nation, which would not allow leaders like Mr. Lewis to cut off the supply of fuel from railroad trains and factories, and from private homes and offices at the beginning of the cold season. The Government was firm in its legal attitude; but with or without "injunctions" the strike was doomed to failure.

The Country Resolute

The Governor of every coal-mining State in the Union was prepared to act in harmony with the Government at Washington. The powers of the Fuel Administrator, Dr. Garfield, were turned over to Secretary Lane of the Interior Department. Coal dealers were warned against profiteering, and prices were fixed officially. Priorities were indicated as in the war time, so that the most essential demands, such as those of the railroads, might be met. With the forces of the United States Army and the militia of the States available to prevent violence, it was reasonably certain that enough workers could be found, regardless of the miners' unions, to produce fuel and "keep the home fires burning." Non-union mines were worked for new production records, supplies were carefully "rationed," and the country showed confidence, while the labor leaders saw defeat before them. The Nation was resolute, and not alarmed.

Roosevelt and the Anthracite Strike

At the time of the anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania, when the men were ready to arbitrate and the operators were not ready, President Roosevelt intervened on behalf of the population of the great Eastern cities like New York, Boston and Philadelphia. His position was met at first with something like defiance on the part of the so-called "coal barons." Public opinion was aroused to a tremendous pitch in support of the President, who sought only the public good. The mine owners were obliged to accept the Presi-

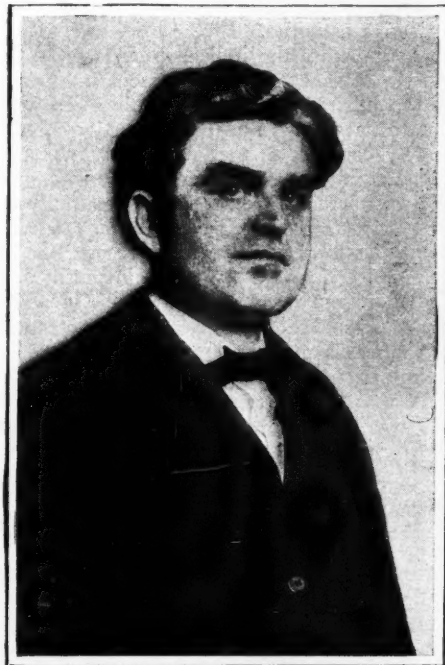
dent's intervention, and were glad afterwards that they had yielded. In this present situation the attitude of the parties was exactly reversed. The defiance was on the part of the leaders of the men in the bituminous fields; while the operators were responsive to the President's appeal and obedient to the law. There is less excuse for Mr. Lewis and his fellow leaders than there was for the owners of the anthracite mines of Roosevelt's day; because no federal statute was involved in that period, and Presidential intervention was less obviously demanded. If the public interest prevailed at that time, it must, not less surely, prevail under the present circumstances.

*"Injunctions"
Are not all
Alike*

Mr. Lewis, with the support of labor leaders who have been regarded as more conservative, has attempted to divert public attention to the court injunction as an "unfair" proceeding, and thus to win sympathy. It should be observed that Judge Anderson's injunction was not one on behalf of the mine operators. It was not the use of a restraining order by one private interest against another in a labor dispute. It was an act on the part of a Federal Judge to uphold a particular federal statute at the instance of the President of the United States and the Attorney-General, in the name of the supremacy of law and in the interest of the public welfare. Such an injunction is not in the least to be confounded with those of the kind that labor leaders have in times past—often with justice and right on their side—so bitterly contended against. Thus this periodical never pretended to withhold its sympathy from Mr. Gompers when, years ago, he was convicted and sentenced for contempt of court, because of something printed (without unlawful intent) in the labor paper edited by him, that was regarded as not in keeping with the terms of an injunction that had been issued in a particular labor dispute. It will be remembered that Mr. Gompers fought the case through the Supreme Court and obtained a reversal and vindication. He has a right to be critical about the use of injunctions; but this particular order by Judge Anderson in support of the Lever law was—at least in the legal sense—a very different proceeding from those injunctions granted to employers in former days where private interests alone were involved. As labor leaders realized the blunder, and felt the sharp rebuke of public opinion, they eagerly sought a way of retreat.

**Miners Have
Real
Hardships**

The coal strike, though legally wrong as a violation of a particular statute, would have been morally wrong without the existence of any such law. Its wrongness lies in the fact that it victimizes the innocent public incomparably more than it could hurt the owners of coal mines. It does not follow that the bituminous miners were without excuse in seeking better terms and conditions of employment. The trouble with mining arises from conditions beyond the immediate control either of the mine owners or of the workmen. The thing at fault is the system of distribution. Coal passes from the mines through the "breakers" into the railroad trains that move it to the points of consumption. There are no adequate storage accommodations anywhere, which permit a steady operation of the mines, and the accumulation of a year's surplus supply. Thus there is much enforced idleness; and it is said that during the past year the miners have had an average of perhaps not more than three or four days' work a week. It is said on their behalf that they have not averaged anything like the thirty hours that they demand.



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MR. JOHN L. LEWIS

(The leader who ordered the coal strike and denounced President Wilson's action)

Remedies
to Be
Sought

Thus, the miners have seemed to the public to be seeking to work very little, whereas their representatives say that the thing they want is to be allowed to work more,—even to the extent of being assured thirty hours a week. However that may be, the country does not want to see the miners oppressed; and a strike against the public is not the way to bring about an improvement in the whole business of producing and distributing fuel. In England, the miners think that national control is the only remedy for their difficult situation. But in this country, at least, there is little sentiment for permanent Governmental assumption of basic industries. A Bituminous Coal Commission appointed by the President would go into all questions justly and patiently; and a wiser leadership than that of Mr. Lewis and his fellows would have welcomed such a commission and would have refused to countenance a strike.

Farmers,
Plainly, must
not Strike

It may be necessary to bring coal mining under Government auspices in such a way as to protect the public while securing such conditions of employment for the miners as to render future strikes plainly unjustifiable. As for the railroads, they are now under Government control and operation. A general railroad strike would partake of the nature of a rebellion against the Government, and might indeed savor of treason. The President has declared that the roads are to be turned back to their owners in the immediate future, but it will be necessary, as agreed on all sides, to enact new legislation of a fundamental kind for the regulation of the railway business. Such legislation must assure continuous service to the public and must relegate railway strikes to the limbo of things obsolete. If at one time such strikes had a purpose to serve, that time is wholly past. Private interests are entitled to as much freedom as they can use without serious harm to public interests. If the farmers of the country should become closely organized and should threaten to strike and to withhold food supplies unless arbitrary price demands were met, it might become necessary to adopt land nationalization and put the nation's tenants under legal restraint. Such a danger is very remote however, and private land ownership will continue to be a sound and wholesome thing from every standpoint. Incidentally, we may remark in passing that the present conditions of Ameri-



HON. DAVID F. HOUSTON, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

(Mr. Houston regards the prosperity and steady development of agriculture as essential to the adjustment of conditions making for social unrest)

can agriculture are most admirably reviewed for our readers in this number by Secretary Houston, while a competent Western writer, Mr. Hughes, will next month discuss pressing farm problems.

More Saving
—Less
Crusading

The war conditions proved very favorable for the work of the trade-union organizers, and they did not fail to push their opportunities. They greatly extended the number of different unions, and carried unionism far down into fields of unskilled employment, whereas the earlier practice of unionism had been largely confined to crafts and trades that were distinctive, technical or permanent in their nature. It is asserted by the union leaders that at the beginning of the war period they had about two million members and that now they have about four million. The tendency of a movement of this kind is to show the faults, as well as the virtues, of a crusade. Unionism has recently tended to create class spirit unduly, and it has become dangerously infected with "rule-or-ruin" doctrines and with the false and shallow notions of the German and Russian Socialists. Labor, for its own prosperity, needs capital just as much

as capital needs labor; and both of these forces need administrative leadership and the creative power that is the inheritance of a few men but not the inheritance of most. The condition to be desired is one in which every laborer shall as quickly as possible become a capitalist, through saving and the wise investment of his surplus earnings. Savings banks and other arrangements make possible the capitalistic use of the combined savings of millions of workmen. As for the leadership and direction that labor and capital alike require: this, for the most part, ought to come from the ranks of labor itself through ample opportunity for advancement on personal merit and through the provision by society of educational facilities of all sorts.

*Unionism's
Past and
Future.*

American unionism has been showing a tendency to follow the blighting mistakes of British unionism in obstructing the free advancement of the individual. Now that unionism has challenged the country, the time has come for the country in turn to speak its mind about some of the practices of unionism. First, then, the unions are no longer the sole guardians or champions of the well-being of workingmen and their families. American workingmen have all the attributes and powers of free citizens; their children form a majority in our splendid schools; the whole policy of the community is now fixed as regards democratic progress and social welfare. No boy who wishes to advance himself in life should be hampered by union rules limiting the number of apprentices or by

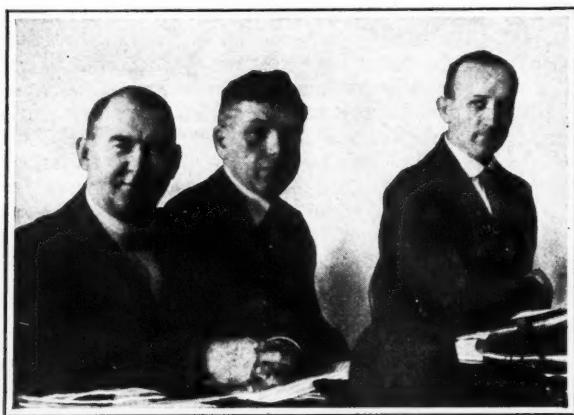
rules that would prevent his earning extra wages by reason of his efficiency and skill. Many valuable forms of associated effort have served their principal purpose by the time they have reached what they themselves have thought to be their permanent enthronement in power. Old-line unionism sought to bring up the level of the toiling masses. It was mistaken in many of its methods, as is best illustrated in the history of the violent attacks of English trade-unionism against the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Machines that take the place of hand labor often create inconvenient displacements; but machinery emancipates men, and in the long run it brings high wages, short hours, and social progress.

*Where it
Meets the
Limit*

Unionism will remain, and in many trades will be a valuable force; but its fanaticism and intolerance must diminish; and its tendency to needless strikes and to criminal violence must be corrected. The right to strike, in callings where the public interest is not vitally affected, ought not to be taken away, and will not be. It was a profound mistake for the American Federation of Labor to unionize the police forces of our cities, and thus to endeavor to win over—for aid to one organized private interest—the guardians of the peace whose sole duty it is to enforce law, maintain order, and recognize the undivided authority of Government. With the dire failure of the Boston police strike, the agitators who were planning for a general strike throughout the country and for the upset of our present form of Government, began to perceive that they had reached the limit. Police bodies and city firemen will not be allowed to take their orders from walking delegates, any more than from the heads of manufacturing associations or from the leaders of any other private interest.

*Issues in
Union's Fight
against
"Steel"*

The great steel strike has not come within the class of movements which we are criticizing as clearly against public interest. The police strike, the coal strike and the threat of the general railroad strike we have not hesitated to criticize and to condemn. The steel strike,



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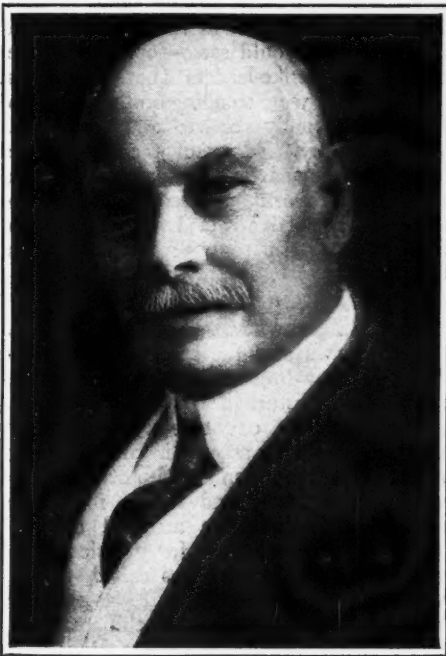
THREE LEADERS OF THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE

(Beginning at the left, is W. F. Tighe, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. In the center is W. B. Rubien, counsel for the steel workers. On the right is W. Z. Foster, secretary of the strikers' committee)

like any other bitter controversy among one's fellow citizens, is to be regretted; but it has been a legitimate trial of strength on both sides. The issues involved were presented with remarkable clearness by Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation, in a recent address made to the members of the Iron and Steel Institute. It did not reach the public in an extended way, and we are therefore publishing it in authorized form in this number of the REVIEW. The steel strike was not based upon complaints and demands made by the employees of the United States Steel Corporation. It was the result of a deliberate policy on the part of the American Federation of Labor to force unionism into the steel industry of the country. This steel industry has stood for the "open shop." Its employees have, within the past year or more, been very rapidly unionized, and the process was expedited under the conditions of war production.

Unionism
Fighting for
Empire

The Federation of Labor had a right to do what it could to convert the steel workers to its doctrines and practices. It holds a militant creed, and seeks to conquer all foes. The heads of the steel corporations had an equal right to protect their plan of the open shop—that is to say, to protect in their employment all of the men who did not care to join unions or to be represented by outside labor leaders. The investigation of the steel strike by Committees of Congress did not result in diverting much public sympathy to the cause of Mr. Fitzpatrick and the strike agitators. The steel companies showed that they had repeatedly advanced wages, and had kept the pay of the men more than abreast of the advance in the cost of living. They also made out a good case for their welfare work, and their treatment of employees; and they presented what they regarded as the advantages of shop organization as against outside trade unionism. The steel strike has shown itself to be a tremendous undertaking—in some respects the strongest piece of aggressive work ever done by the American Federation of Labor; but strikes do not win unless there is a favorable public atmosphere. It was shown that the strikers for the most part were not bona-fide iron and steel workers. The greater number was composed of the sort of common laborers, largely unnaturalized foreigners, who are employed to handle material and do rough work in any



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JUDGE ELBERT H. GARY

(Chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation and president of the Iron and Steel Institute)

manufacturing plant, whether it be a steel mill, a cement factory, a packinghouse or a woodworking enterprise.

Failure of the
Steel
Strike

Such a strike as this one relies too much for its success upon what are fundamental elements of weakness. One of these is the intimidation of good workmen into joining unions and accepting the leadership of bold talkers and agitators; and another is a system of terrorism intended to keep new men from being employed to take the place of the strikers. This resort to terrorism will not be tolerated much longer, by reason of the aroused demand for the protection by Government of individuals in their personal rights. At an earlier period, corporations sometimes hired gangs of thugs and "strong-arm men" as strikebreakers, to intimidate good workingmen who had real grievances. Terrorism on one side is as bad as terrorism on the other; and the American public is not disposed to tolerate either sort. As for the methods of propaganda which bring unwilling workmen into union membership, it is merely to be said that apparent strength gained by such means

always proves illusive in the end. A majority of the best men in the iron and steel mills were—it would seem—opposed to the strike. The strike-leaders (not themselves steel workers) were standing on the punctilio of being personally received and recognized by Judge Gary. Many of the mills were closed, and the quarter's steel output is much reduced; but work has been gradually resumed, and the strike is evidently destined to fail. The "open shop" movement gains strength.

Washington
Conference
on Industry

Meanwhile, President Wilson, aware of the threats of the railway brotherhoods, and informed of industrial disturbances everywhere, had accepted the idea of Secretary Lane that something could be accomplished by calling together at Washington a group of men who would confer freely and try to formulate principles that could be accepted by employers and union leaders for practical purposes. The Conference was called, and it was made up of three groups. First came the body of union labor leaders, all affiliated with the American Federation, whose President, Mr. Gompers, was spokesman for the group. Second was a group of men representing employers, at the head of which was Mr. Harry A. Wheeler of Chicago. These men were selected by such organizations as the United States Chamber of Commerce. They were more identified with the public interest than any narrow or selfish attitude of employers as a class. The third group was appointed by President Wilson to represent the public. It was diversely made up, including men of wealth, like Judge Gary, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and H. B. Endicott, the shoe manufacturer; educators like Dr. Charles W. Eliot and Prof. Edwin F. Gay; socialist writers like John Spargo and Charles Edward Russell; lawyers like Mr. Chadbourne of New York and Mr. McNab of San Francisco; and several other men and women of distinction and high character. While the group was highly varied as to previous experience, it was made up without exception of men and women having the public welfare at heart; and every member was both capable and disinterested.

Why the
Conference
Broke up

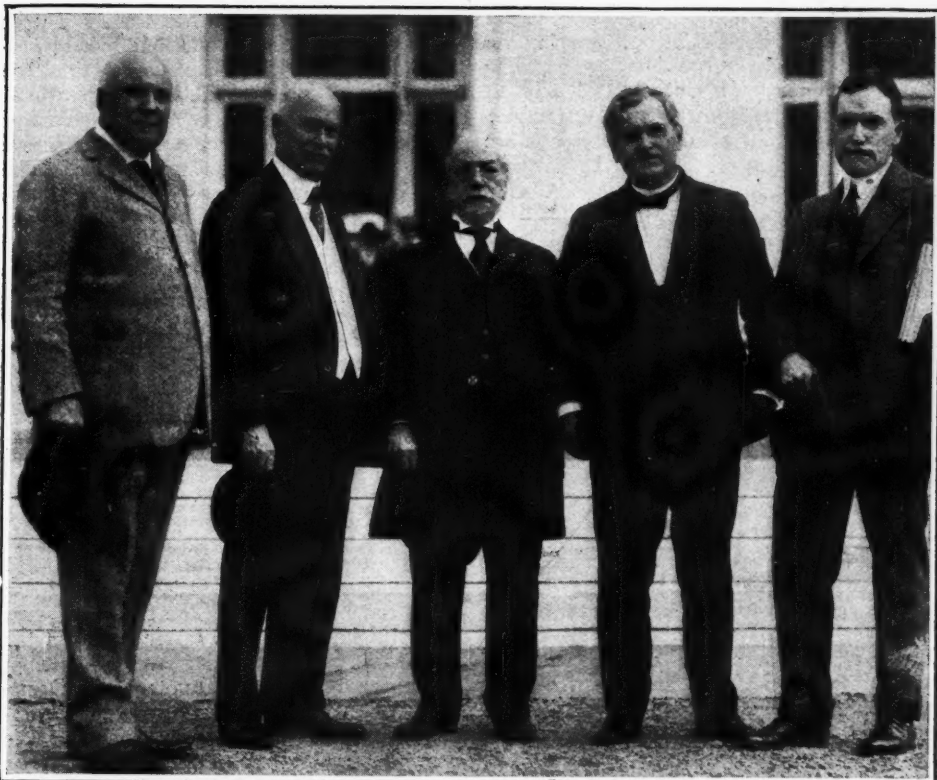
The gathering was presided over by Secretary Lane, and it decided to keep the three groups distinct and to adopt only such proposals as should stand the ordeal of acceptance by all three.

After a few days the Conference was deadlocked, and it gave up the effort to attain the objects that President Wilson had desired. In the background was the determination on the part of the labor group to force some kind of intervention in the steel strike. The Conference broke up over the effort to agree upon a resolution advocating so-called "collective bargaining" as a "right." Nobody objected to collective bargaining, which for that matter is in almost universal exercise as respects all large industries. The labor leaders, however, sought to secure a declaration that would practically restrict collective bargaining to trade unionism on the labor side. Judge Gary and other representatives of the employers opposed such restriction, and stood for the rights of particular shops and enterprises to find their own method of association, and to choose their own forms of agreement. It is to be regretted that the labor leaders walked out and broke up the Conference; but their position is of necessity that of agents, acting for militant organizations; while the other groups were not coherent, or committed in advance to any special point of view. Mr. Gompers and his associates knew exactly what they wanted, and were on solid ground. The rest of the Conference, except for those employers who stood for the "open shop" as a principle involving human liberty, had a tendency to be rather theoretical and academic. It will be seen in the end, however, that the Conference was not without value;



WOULDN'T IT BE "A GRAND AND GLORIOUS FEELING?"

(From the Daily News, Dayton, Ohio)



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A GROUP OF PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE WHICH MET AT WASHINGTON ON CALL OF PRESIDENT WILSON IN OCTOBER

(From left to right: Secretary Lane, who presided; Judge Gary; Mr. Samuel Gompers; Mr. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor; and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.)

and it should be the precursor of a new one, called as a single body to represent the public welfare, with the exclusion of all whose attitude is that of practical leadership on lines to which they are already pledged.

*Embattled
Printers of
New York*

Many readers have a desire to know something about the printers' strike in New York. This strike was the result of over-organization. The "closed shop" has been the rule for a long time, and arbitration has prevailed as between the employers and such societies as the Typographical Union. Trouble came with the forming of a series of newer organizations, made up of relatively unskilled workmen, such as "pressmen's feeders," "paper handlers" and the like. The less skilled the men, the more aggressive, turbulent and peremptory are their unions in making demands, and the less scrupulous in observing contracts. The New York strike involved repudiation of agreements, and re-

fusal to accept the employers' offer to arbitrate everything asked—the employers waiving all rights under contracts which had not yet expired. The employers, being obviously right, had the support of the national officers of the unions; but the leaders of local organizations defied their national leaders; and the quarrel became one within unionism rather than between the employers and the men. The unionism which has no discipline, and cannot regulate its own affairs, is not likely to show reason in its attitude towards employers. The publishers of periodicals in New York were simply the victims of a situation beyond their influence. They were at the mercy of a long series of unions that were having family rows. Some of these unions kept faith with their national officers, and others did not. It was an impossible situation, with no logical alternative except the open shop. This remedy, however, lay far below the horizon of practical things, because there were not to be found many

workers in the various allied printing trades who would run the risk of encountering the displeasure of unionism on the warpath. The printing industry was once second only to the clothing industry in point of importance in New York City. Hostile conditions are tending apparently to scatter the industry far afield.

*Illness of
the President*

President Wilson, though confined to his room while slowly convalescing from his serious breakdown, was able to give attention to public questions at critical moments; and with the Cabinet more active in executive matters, the country's business was not seriously handicapped by the misfortune of the President's illness. He had returned from Europe greatly fatigued, and with his strength impaired as a result of an attack of influenza earlier in the year at Paris. His long and arduous speaking tour on behalf of the peace treaty and the league of nations, which extended to the Pacific Coast, would have tested the strength of the most sturdy campaigner who ever took the stump. No one—except Mr. Bryan perhaps—had ever encountered so severe a strain of this kind. Mr. Wilson had almost completed his speaking program, and was heading toward Washington when he experienced a temporary collapse, the exact nature of which has not been explained in bulletins to the public. Fortunately, he could be protected for a number of days from intrusion, without any harm to public business. Later on, as completed bills came to him from Congress for action, he was able to sign them or to return them with his veto. Constant improvement was reported.

*"Dry" Law
Vetoed and
Repassed*

One of the measures that he vetoed was an elaborate bill providing means for the drastic enforcement of the war-time prohibition order, and also for the constitutional prohibition that is to go into effect on January 16th. The President took the view that Congress ought to have repealed war-time prohibition, because the army had been practically demobilized and the emergency had disappeared. He vetoed the prohibition enforcement act and again called upon Congress to repeal the earlier legislation. Both Houses of Congress, however, repudiated the President's veto without delay and by emphatic majorities, thus passing the measure over his head and making it practically certain that there will be no "wet" interval before the arrival of constitutional prohibition in Janu-

ary. Such an interval was eagerly sought by the liquor interests, and hundreds of millions of dollars were involved. Immense quantities of liquor held in storage would have been absorbed into the private stocks of consumers, where neither present nor future laws would be likely to reach them. The President's veto message went to Congress on October 27, and the bill was passed over the veto on the same day in the House by 176 to 55 and on the following day in the Senate by 65 to 20. Several of the state elections of November 4, notably in Ohio, gave victories for prohibition. The "wets" won in other states.

*Treaty in
Final Stages*

As the dull days of November arrived, seeming all the shorter and darker for the changing back of the clocks at the end of the "daylight-saving" season, it was realized in the United States Senate that November 11th was an anniversary; and that a full year had elapsed since the end of the fighting on the great war fronts in France. The treaty of peace was still unratified at Washington, and the two sides were wrangling over an attempt to fix the date for a final vote. The Democrats, with the help of a group of Republicans, had voted down every one of the textual amendments to the treaty that had been brought forward. Senator Johnson's amendment, which was aimed against the representation in the Assembly of the League of Nations of Canada, Australia and other British dominions, was next to the last to be defeated. Finally, Senator Lodge's amendment, relating to Shantung, failed to carry. Voting down the textual amendments merely cleared the way for the adoption of most of the same proposals in the form of "reservations." There were several main questions involved in this general line of action. Evidently some reservations could be adopted as giving more clearly the American interpretation to matters in the treaty. Others, while not antagonizing the spirit of the treaty, were to make explicit the principle that every particular question when it arises in the future must be acted upon by Congress.

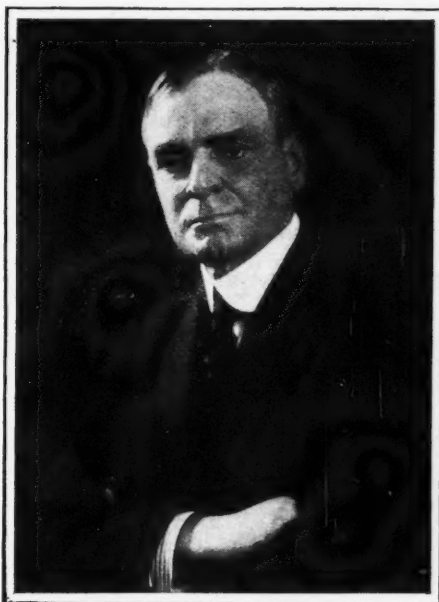
*Compromise
Demanded by
Country*

Americans quite generally regard this as both reasonable and necessary. Still other reservations, however, were obviously in the nature of amendments to the treaty. It was expected that Senator Hitchcock, as leader of the Democratic minority, would be able to confer with Mr. Wilson and find out how far

the President was willing to go in accepting reservations. (The country was eager to see the treaty ratified and out of the way.) It was not the opinion of thoughtful men in general that the long discussion had been unnecessary. There were many who felt that the League of Nations was actually finding its real foundations in the great American debate. (It was to be hoped that a compromise would be agreed upon between the parties at Washington, so that the treaty might be adopted, with the united acceptance of moderate reservations, in such form as would permit the treaty to go into effect.) It had been ratified, meanwhile, by the British, French, Italian and Japanese Governments, and it was expected that this group would put it into practical operation not many days later than the anniversary of the Armistice.

**Europe
Facing a
Hard Winter**

The friction and ferment of the first year following so great a convulsion as the world war have not been greater than was to have been expected. We may reasonably hope to see much improvement in general conditions during the second year. Financial and business problems will puzzle all governments, and there is no single remedy that will do so much as the acceptance, for some time to come, of the need of strict economy and very hard work. Many of the demands that labor groups are making might better be postponed until the times are more auspicious. In our next number we shall give more specific attention to the conditions existing in European countries, and shall publish articles by writers whose observation has been fresh and extended, upon present social and economic conditions in Germany and Austria, together with reports upon conditions in Great Britain, France and Italy. Meanwhile it may be remarked that Germany is extremely handicapped by a coal famine, and that Vienna and Budapest, the former Austro-Hungarian capitals, are in dire distress, with shortage of food, fuel and the raw materials of industry. German trade is reviving slowly in spite of difficulties, and the French and British merchants in particular are said to be eagerly pushing trade with Germany, while American business men have been held back by obstacles which they attribute to our own Governmental methods and policies. Russia is condemned to another winter of misery, no matter what may happen in politics and in the pending civil conflicts.



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DR. GEORGE E. VINCENT, PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

(Who has been investigating conditions in China and inspecting the work of the China Medical Board)

**Fiume,—
Shantung**

The episode of Captain D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume has bulked large in the news, but will probably simmer down to a very modest place in the pages of history. Some compromise will be found by which the Jugo-Slavs may have full commercial access to the Adriatic, while Italy will maintain her naval position, and a measure of control over distinctly Italian points on the Dalmatian coast. A more serious matter, in view of international feeling, is the quarrel between China and Japan over Japan's ambitious determination to hold economic mastery in the great Province of Shantung. Here again it should be possible to find some reconciling formula. There ought to be discovered a mutually beneficial way to develop the resources and to modernize the industrial life of China, with the help of Japan, without impairing China's sovereign rights.

**American
help in
China**

We are glad to present to our readers this month an article of great value upon the conditions in China from the pen of Dr. George Vincent, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, who has just now returned from the Far East. That great agency for human welfare, so munificently endowed by Mr.



Photograph by Illustrated News, New York

CARDINAL MERCIER AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT

(The photograph shows President Butler at the moment of conferring a degree upon the Cardinal. Archbishop Hayes, of New York, is sitting. Cardinal Mercier received like honors from a number of leading American universities)

Rockefeller, has entered upon a policy that will bring blessings beyond measure to the people of China, where medical knowledge and sanitary methods are so desperately needed. One of the services maintained by the Rockefeller Foundation is an International Health Board that has been fighting infectious diseases in various parts of the world, with great success and without much advertising. This agency, employing that eminent sanitary authority General Gorgas, has now brought to the point of extinction on the west coast of South America the last lingering foci of yellow fever infection. Through the General Education Board, Mr. Rockefeller has within a few weeks contributed an additional twenty million dollars for the purpose of advancing the best types of medical education in the United States. It was further announced, early in November, that a new gift of ten million dollars had been made by Mr. Rockefeller to the Institute of Medical Research that bears his name, and that is devoted to those patient scientific inquiries that result in life-saving discoveries. One of the things that most interested the eager mind and spirit of the Queen of the Belgians on her recent visit to

this country was this Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Her great desire is to secure the beginnings of a similar institution at Brussels.

**American
Hospitality**

The visit of the King and Queen of the Belgians was regarded by them as agreeable and satisfactory, and it was much enjoyed by the American people. As the President justly remarked in speaking to the son of the visiting sovereign, "the King is every inch a man." Both King and Queen are devoted to all that may contribute to the best progress of the people of Belgium; and that little country is fortunate in the political stability that it derives from having a constitutional democratic head, who as life president is a real leader, above parties and factions. The Prince of Wales has been enjoying a long and interesting visit in Canada, where, out in the Northwest, he has purchased a ranch for the breeding of horses and cattle. He was to make his visit in the United States in November; and it was hoped that the President would be well enough to have him for several days as a guest in the White House. He has made himself very popular in Canada,

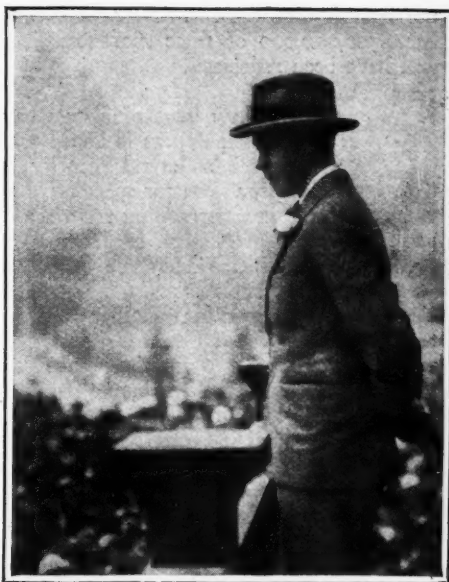
and his welcome in the United States will be genuine. Cardinal Mercier's visit was notable in the way it evoked American expression of right feeling. M. Schneider, the eminent head of "Creusot," the great French gun factory, has been making some brilliant addresses to American business gatherings, and has received deserved ovations as a leader in industry and a model employer of labor.

**The
Roosevelt
Celebration**

The celebration of Theodore Roosevelt's birthday October 27, under the fine auspices of the Roosevelt Memorial Committee, was universal; and it proved to be a most valuable occasion for the preaching of true American patriotism. How memorial week was observed by the country is admirably told for our readers by Mr. Hermann Hagedorn, than whom few men were closer in Colonel Roosevelt's confidence during his last years. Mr. Hagedorn is performing a rare public service in rescuing much Roosevelt "material" that might otherwise be lost. Thus he is to be credited with having personally secured for us that most delightful narrative about Colonel Roosevelt's early experiences in Maine, and his ranch life in the West, that is told by "Bill" Sewall, the writing of whose book was due to Mr. Hagedorn's efforts. Our front cover has a picture of the



Photograph by Illustrated News, New York
QUEEN ELIZABETH OF BELGIUM—FROM A
SNAPSHOT PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN
IN NEW YORK



© Underwood & Underwood
THE PRINCE OF WALES ADDRESSING AN
AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY IN BRITISH
COLUMBIA

Roosevelt memorial tower built in the Black Hills of Dakota. The memorial committee will execute noble plans at Oyster Bay and elsewhere; but localities will spontaneously erect many visible tributes of their own to the memory of the best-loved American of our generation.

**Great Britain's
New
Financing**

The announcement of a loan to the British Government offered for popular subscription in the United States is the first and significant step toward caring for the large sums borrowed in America by Great Britain between 1915 and 1917. There were four such loans taken by American citizens and institutions. The first was the so-called Anglo-French loan of \$500,000,000 at 5 per cent., floated in the autumn of 1915. With the increasingly serious aspect of the war, the next three short-term issues offered more attractive terms to American investors,—5½ per cent. interest and collateral security of a great variety of stocks and bonds to an amount of 120 per cent. of the face of the issue. In all, Great Britain borrowed \$1,300,000,000 on these short-term notes including France's share of the Anglo-French loan. The security behind the second, third and fourth loans consisted of foreign government bonds, railroad and industrial stocks and bonds secured in one way or another for this purpose by

the British Government. By next November \$500,000,000 of these short-time issues will have been redeemed.

*Speculation in
the Rate of
Exchange*

The new issue of a quarter of a billion dollars is issued without the collateral security but with ingenious provisions for speculative advantages to the investor arising from the expected tendency of English exchange to return toward normal. Thus, the issue, consisting of three-year notes and ten-year bonds, is convertible at par into the ten-year National War Bonds of Great Britain at the exchange rate of \$4.30 for the pound sterling. This means that if exchange should by 1929 return to the normal of \$4.8665 for the pound sterling and if Great Britain redeems the bonds at the promised rate of 105, the investor will net, over and above the interest return, a profit of nearly 23 per cent. The new notes and bonds are offered at 96¼ and 98 respectively, so that with their interest rate of 5½ per cent. they bring the investor a yield of 6 to 6¼ per cent. irrespective of the speculative profit that may come from the recovery in the rate of exchange.

*British
Financial
Worries*

Great Britain's financial problem is, indeed, a puzzling one. The year to date shows a deficit of £312,000,000, compared with a deficit of only £11,700,000 for the like period in 1913. The public debt has been increased ten times. To be sure much has been done to cut down the current expenditure due to the war; to date this year, revenues have increased £114,000,000 from 1918 and expenditures have decreased £663,000,000 showing a net reduction in annual deficit as compared with the last war year of no less than £777,000,000. But even with this handsome movement in the right direction, the problem of taxation facing the new term of Parliament will be a very harassing one, and radical members are already demanding the confiscation of all "war fortunes."

*Bolster up
Europe's
Credit!*

The too great value of the American dollar as measured in pounds, francs, marks and lira might be a boon to Americans if we were counting on making vast purchases from England, France, Germany and Italy. But as we are counting on making vast sales of goods instead, the utterly abnormal rates of exchange are a heavy handicap, and there has been talk interminable of the necessity of

granting credits to European countries as an absolutely indispensable part of reconstruction work,—with very little actually done so far. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont has explained very clearly in a recent address how this process is the personal concern of each individual American citizen, and not merely of governments and bankers. Any thrifty and solvent American citizen can help, and must help if the world is to work out of its chaotic financial situation. As Mr. Lamont says: "Our farmers have wheat to sell. Very well, the farmers must sell that wheat on credit, not all of it, but a reasonable share. The farmer will extend that credit, not in a single shipment of a hundred bushels, but through the method of investing in a thousand dollar bond of some solvent European country that may offer her promise to pay for sale here, so that with the credit she establishes here, her people can buy American wheat." Poland and other mid-European countries are expecting to sell bonds in this popular fashion to the American public.

*The Cummins
Railway
Measure*

On October 23 Senator Cummins introduced his bill for the reorganization of the railways of the country,—one of the most elaborate measures ever presented to Congress, requiring 108 printed pages. Senator Cummins spoke with exceeding emphasis of the necessity for passing such legislation within the very near future, predicting real disaster to the country if it be delayed. He frankly stated the determination of his colleagues and himself to oppose to the bitter end any recess of this Congress until the railway legislation shall have been attended to, and recommended that it should be the order of business immediately after the Peace Treaty is voted on. The scheme of the Cummins measure is avowedly an ambitious one. It not only provides for the return of the railroads to their private owners (at midnight of the last day of the month in which the bill becomes law) but, in the words of its chief author, "covers the entire reorganization of the railroad systems of the country, provides for coordination of the rail and water transport systems inside the United States and for intimately correlating the railroad system with the maritime transportation system. In short the aim is nothing less than to organize together in one gigantic unity under effective Federal control all the instrumentalities of river, canal, rail and ocean transportation."

**Proposed
Regional
System**

The railroads are to be grouped into not less than twenty and not more than thirty-five systems in order that rates may be made for each system without the old obstacle, which proved insuperable, of finding that a rate reasonable for one road made its neighbor unduly prosperous. The plan proposes to preserve competition in service; thus, for instance, there will be between New York and Chicago four or five competing systems. A period of seven years is allowed for voluntary consolidations which will be made on the basis of "valuations fixed by public authority." A consolidated group will then have as its capital the exact number of dollars fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission as the aggregate value of all its parts. After the period of voluntary consolidation has passed, any roads not yet grouped will be required to consolidate.

**A Trans-
portation
Board**

This tremendous process of consolidation is to be supervised by a Railway Transportation Board, of five members appointed by the President, with salaries of \$12,000 per year. Their work of grouping the roads must be approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This body is also the final judge of wage disputes, which are referred to it after the boards entrusted with wage-fixing have failed to agree. Until the Transportation Board has completed its work of grouping the roads in a score or more of new systems, the Interstate Commerce Commission is to divide the country into rate-making districts.

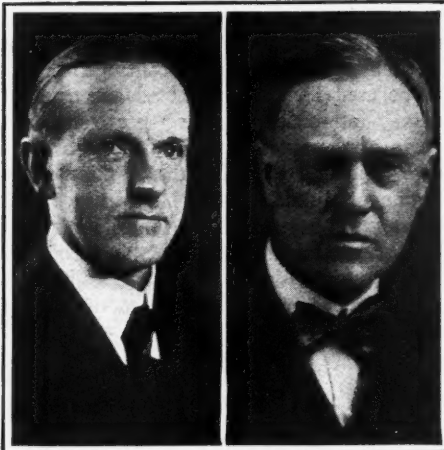
**The Fixing
of Rates**

Rate-making is to be in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which will be required to fix the rates of each district so that the net return in that district shall be as nearly as possible $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the valuation of the properties as determined by the Commission. That body may at its discretion increase the return to 6 per cent., but in such a case the addition is to be used for improvements, such as certain terminal investments, which do not produce revenue. Then comes a provision which Senator Cummins pronounces the most difficult his committee had to deal with: when the average return for a rate-making district results in certain roads earning largely in excess of the average, the prosperous road is restricted as to its maximum earnings. If this income is above 6 per cent., one-half of the excess be-

tween 6 and 7 per cent. goes to a company reserve fund, to bolster up weak years, and the other half to a railway contingent fund, "to be used for the general advancement of railway interests." Above 7 per cent., one-fourth of the excess goes to the company reserve fund and three-fourths to the railway contingent fund. In deciding disputes as to rates and regulations in which individual States are taking part, the State Commissions can sit with the Interstate Commerce Commission, but the members of the former will have no voice in the decisions.

**Some Aspects
of the New
Situation**

The House Bill for reorganizing the railroads differs, in its present stage, from Senator Cummins' measure in omitting any guarantee to the owners of the roads of any specific returns, and in a much milder and less effective curb on strikes. In both measures and in the discussion and study involved in their preparation there is obvious a disposition to bestow a great amount of thought on the matter of preventing certain railroads from making too much profit, when, as a matter of fact, the disastrous thing is that the railroads are not now making nearly enough profit to enable them to serve the public. Even under the Senate provisions for an average return of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in each rate-making district there is no sort of guarantee whatsoever that the less advantageously situated roads will give an attractive return on new capital, while there is a dead certainty that capital's return in the more fortunate or better managed roads will be strictly limited to a rate which does not look, as a maximum, very alluring in the present era of high prices for capital and everything else. This restriction on the earnings resulting from efficient management and good judgment may, too, decrease beyond the danger point the incentive to show those qualities, without which railway service must be poor and rates must be high. In an era when investors can lend their money to Great Britain with the certainty of a return of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and a probable return of nearly 9 per cent., why should they lend their money to private railroad companies, or buy their stocks, with the certainty that they will get no more than 6 per cent.? And vast amounts of money must be furnished by investors to be spent on the roads if they are to give any sort of decent and adequate service.



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CALVIN COOLIDGE
(Rep.)

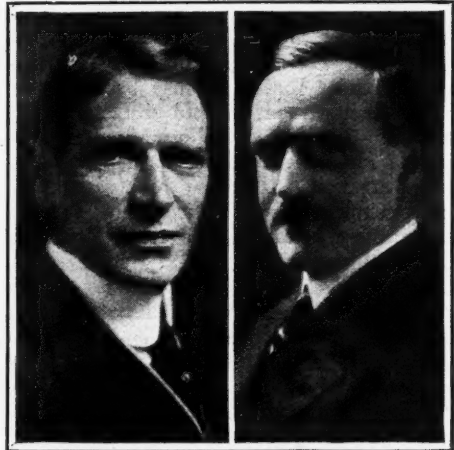
© Cokell

RICHARD H. LONG
(Dem.)

**SUCCESSFUL AND DEFEATED CANDIDATES
FOR GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS**

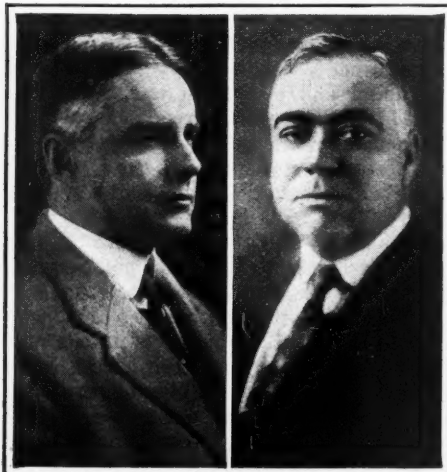
*Gov. Coolidge,
and other
Elections*

The elections of November 4 were of minor importance in most States. The reelection of Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts, by a plurality of 124,000, was everywhere interpreted as an endorsement of his firm stand against the Boston police strike. Mr. Long, his Democratic opponent, had promised to reinstate the strikers. While Republicans were naturally pleased, they realized that the triumph was one for law and order and not for the party. In New Jersey, a Democratic Governor was elected, Prohibition being the most conspicuous issue. The Republicans were on the "dry" side; and New

EDWARD I. EDWARDS NEWTON A. K. BUGBEE
(Dem.) (Rep.)

**THE OPPOSING CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR
IN NEW JERSEY**

Jersey is evidently thirsty. In Kentucky, it was the Republicans who happened to hold the "wet" position, and they elected their candidate. In Maryland the result was exceedingly close, the Republicans having made large gains, with the Democratic candidate apparently successful. There was a notable Republican victory in New York City, where Congressman LaGuardia was elected President of the Board of Aldermen and Mr. Henry H. Curran President of the Borough of Manhattan. We shall give further attention to the elections and to the political outlook for next year, in our December number.

ALBERT C. RITCHIE
(Dem.)HARRY W. NICE
(Rep.)

CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND

EDWIN P. MORROW
(Rep.)

**GOVERNOR-ELECT OF
KENTUCKY**

LEE M. RUSSELL
(Dem.)

**GOVERNOR-ELECT OF
MISSISSIPPI**

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From September 13 to October 31, 1919)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

September 16.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.), leading the Administration members temporarily in the majority, forces a reading of the Peace Treaty before the Republicans are ready; Mr. Sherman (Rep., Ill.) severely arraigns the President.

September 18.—Both branches assemble in the House Chamber and bestow upon General John J. Pershing the thanks of Congress.

September 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) denounces the League Covenant and in particular takes issue with the President's assertions regarding the powers of the proposed Assembly.

. . . The Committee on Interstate Commerce, considering the Cummins railroad bill, hears the criticisms of Samuel Gompers (president of the American Federation of Labor), Warren S. Stone (Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers), and Glenn E. Plumb (advocate of nationalization); they all condemn the provision forbidding strikes by railroad employees.

September 23.—In the House, Mr. Cooper (Rep., Ohio), a former labor-union man, denounces the radical element among labor leaders; he declares specifically that one of the two principal organizers of the steel strike is unfit for American citizenship.

September 24.—The House passes the Senate bill restoring to the Interstate Commerce Commission power to review railroad rates established by the Railroad Administration.

September 25.—The Senate Committee on Education and Labor begins an investigation of the situation which brought about the steel strike; John Fitzpatrick, chairman of the steel workers' strike committee, is the first witness.

September 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Johnson (Rep., Cal.) speaks in support of the amendment to the League of Nations covenant equalizing the voting power of Great Britain and the United States.

October 1-2.—The Senate Committee investigating the steel strike questions Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation, regarding his refusal to confer with the union leaders.

October 2.—The Senate rejects various amendments submitted by Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.), eliminating the United States from membership on commissions created by the treaty of peace.

October 3.—The Senate committee investigating the steel strike questions William Z. Foster, secretary-treasurer of the strike committee, particularly regarding his writings in the field of industrial revolution.

October 4.—The House Appropriations Committee is urged by ex-President Taft and Secretary of the Treasury Glass to provide a budget system for federal expenditures.

October 7.—The Senate votes to confer the permanent rank of Lieutenant General upon Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate General and the man responsible for the creation and administration of the selective draft.

October 8.—In the House, a special committee introduces a bill providing for the establishment of a budget system—creating a Bureau of the Budget and an accounting department, and concentrating power in an enlarged Committee on Appropriations.

October 9.—The House passes a bill repealing the Canadian Reciprocity Act of 1910, which had never been ratified by Canada.

October 16.—The Senate, by vote of 55 to 35, rejects the Lodge amendments to the peace treaty which provided for the restoration of Shantung province to China rather than to Japan.

The House passes a bill extending for one year wartime passport regulations, in order to have a check upon radical immigration after the signing of the peace treaty.

October 20.—The Senate completes reading of the peace treaty with Germany.

October 22.—The Senate passes the measure extending for one year the war-time restrictions on the issuance of passports.

October 22-23.—In the Senate, the Republican members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and one Democratic member, agree upon a new program of reservations to be made a part of the resolution ratifying the peace treaty; the preamble declares that the reservations must be accepted by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

October 23.—In the Senate, the Cummins railroad bill is reported from committee.

October 24.—In the House, the committee considering the case of Victor L. Berger, Socialist member-elect from Wisconsin, recommends his exclusion from membership on the ground of disloyalty to the United States during the war.

October 27.—The House passes the Prohibition Enforcement bill over the President's veto, 176 to 55.

October 28.—Both branches are addressed by King Albert of Belgium.

The Senate repasses the Prohibition Enforcement bill, 65 to 20, and the measure becomes a law.

October 29.—The Senate rejects three amendments to the peace treaty aimed to equalize the British Empire's representation in the Assembly created by the League of Nations covenant.

October 30-31.—Both branches adopt a resolution approving the Administration's policy in the coal strike.

October 31.—The Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs obtain the views of General Pershing on military policy; he urges a stand-

ing army of not more than 300,000 men (against 575,000 recommended by the General Staff).

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 13.—President Wilson, in his speaking tour of the country explaining the peace treaty, reaches the Pacific Coast; he speaks in Tacoma and Seattle and reviews the Pacific Fleet.

The War Department announces that 113,000 men have enlisted in the ten months since the armistice.

September 14.—Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts backs the opinion of his Attorney General and the Police Commissioner of Boston, that the striking policemen forfeited their jobs and cannot be reinstated.

September 15.—President Wilson speaks in Portland, Ore.

The President of the National Non-Partisan League, A. C. Townley, is sentenced by a Minnesota court to three months imprisonment after conviction on a charge of disloyalty.

September 16.—In the Philadelphia mayoralty primary, Congressman J. Hampton Moore, wins the Republican nomination, defeating John M. Patterson, candidate of the faction in power.

President Wilson enters California for the first time since his election, plans calling for five days of speechmaking in that State.

September 17.—In a speech at Chicago, Senator James Hamilton Lewis declares that the President will soon announce the doctrine of socializing coal, oil, and national road and water highways.

September 18.—The President speaks in San Francisco and Oakland.

The representatives of the organized steel workers inform the President that delaying a strike (until after the Industrial Conference meets on October 6) "means the surrender of all hope."

September 19.—The President speaks at San Diego, his voice reaching 50,000 persons by means of electrical devices.

September 20.—The President, speaking at Los Angeles, answers criticism of the League relating to the British Empire's six votes; he explains that the assembly is merely a debating body, that unanimous action is required and a negative vote by the United States would nullify Britain's six votes, and that in the Council the representation of the two nations is equal.

September 22.—In the New Jersey primaries, Governor Runyon (Rep.) is defeated for renomination by State Controller Newton A. K. Bugbee; the Democratic nomination is won by Edward L. Edwards, who defeats James R. Newton.

In the Massachusetts primaries, Governor Coolidge is renominated without opposition and Richard H. Long is the successful Democratic candidate.

The President speaks at Salt Lake City, Utah, on his return swing from the Pacific Coast toward the Capital.

September 25.—The President speaks in Denver and Pueblo, Colo.

September 26.—President Wilson, because of illness in Kansas due to strain, suddenly abandons the remainder of his speaking tour in support of the peace treaty; it is estimated that he had delivered forty speeches.

September 27.—The Alabama House passes the Senate bill penalizing combinations or agreements to impede industry—aimed to prevent strikes.

The United States Shipping Board takes over from the War Department the giant *Imperator* and seven other former German ships which were allocated to the United States under the terms of peace.

September 28.—President Wilson returns to Washington and becomes a bed patient in the White House.

September 30.—The President nominates Brand Whitlock to be first Ambassador to Belgium; the Senate immediately confirms the appointment.

The Ohio Supreme Court affirms the decision of a lower court which held that the Legislature's ratification of the prohibition amendment must be submitted to a referendum vote of the people.

October 2.—A physician's bulletin issued from the White House states that "the President is a very sick man."

The Government's report on the cotton crop indicates a small yield (10,696,000 bales), in low average condition.

October 7.—The Shipping Board announces that America's shipbuilding efforts, begun with the war, have resulted in the construction of 1468 vessels of more than eight million deadweight tonnage.

October 11.—On the sixteenth day of President Wilson's illness, his physicians announce that "his condition is such as to necessitate his remaining in bed for an extended period."

October 14.—The Bureau of Internal Revenue announces that corporation taxes for the year 1917 totalled \$1,326,900,480, from 58,788 corporations.

October 22.—Registration figures in New York City show that 50,000 (12 per cent.) fewer women will vote in the municipal election this year than voted last year.

October 25.—President Wilson issues a statement on the threatened coal strike, after failure of negotiations by the Secretary of Labor; he declares that a strike with such disastrous consequences "is not only unjustifiable but unlawful," the public welfare being paramount; he expresses conviction that the individual members of the Mine Workers' union would not favor a strike.

October 26.—Miles Poindexter, United States Senator from Washington, announces his candidacy for the Republican nomination for President.

October 27.—President Wilson vetoes the Prohibition Enforcement bill, disapproving of that portion which attempts to enforce "war time" prohibition when the emergency has ceased to exist.

October 29.—The Government at Washington makes plans to handle situations arising out of the coal strike; Dr. Harry Garfield is recalled to the post of Fuel Administrator; Attorney-General Palmer announces his determination to enforce the statute which prohibits interference with the supply and distribution of fuel.

October 31.—Federal Judge Anderson, at Indianapolis, grants an injunction sought by the Government, restraining officials of the Mine Workers' union from efforts to bring about or continue a strike.

Four hundred thousand unionized miners quit work in the soft-coal regions, to enforce demands for increased wages and a thirty-hour week.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 13.—The Rumanian Cabinet under Premier Bratiano resigns as a result of the complications in foreign affairs.

September 14.—Francisco Brogan becomes Provisional President of Honduras, pending an election.

September 22.—King Albert of Belgium, with Queen Elizabeth and Crown Prince Leopold, sail for the United States on board an American steamer.

September 28.—A plebiscite in Luxemburg registers the desire of the people to retain the Grand Duchess Charlotte as ruler and to establish an economic alliance with France.

In the Italian Chamber, Foreign Minister Tittoni explains the Government's policy in the present international complication, and the ministry of Premier Nitti receives a vote of confidence.

September 29.—The Prince of Wales, on a tour of Canada, leaves the Pacific Coast at Victoria and turns eastward.

October 1.—The legislative assembly of Guatemala ratifies the peace treaty with Germany.

October 2.—The French Chamber of Deputies ratifies the peace treaty and the special protective agreements with Great Britain and the United States; the vote on the peace treaty is 372 to 53, with 73 members abstaining from voting.

A new ministry is formed in Serbia, with Stojan Protitch as Premier.

October 6.—The people of Norway vote overwhelmingly in favor of prohibiting whiskey and other strong liquors.

October 7.—The Italian King issues a decree approving the German and Austrian peace treaties—which must, however, be presented to Parliament before conversion into law.

October 9.—Progress on reconstruction work in France is officially reported; 60,000 houses have been rebuilt, 2016 kilometers of railway repaired, 588 plants restored, and approximately one fourth of the devastated area returned to farmers.

October 11.—President Poincaré issues a decree declaring that the state of war in France is at an end.

The French Senate, without a dissenting vote, ratifies the peace treaty and also the special treaties of defense with Great Britain and the United States.

October 12.—Augusto Leguia is proclaimed constitutional president of Peru for a term of five years.

October 17.—The Austrian National Assembly ratifies the peace treaty of St. Germain.

October 19.—The New Zealand House of Representatives authorizes acceptance of a mandate for Samoa.

October 20.—The men and women voters of the Province of Ontario, Canada, sustain the temperance act which has been in effect since 1916; the Conservative government of Sir William Hearst is overthrown.

October 22.—The British Parliament reassembles, financial and labor problems being chief topics of discussion.

October 25.—The resumption of an offensive by General Yudenitch, directed against the Bolshevik regime, brings his forces within fifteen miles of Petrograd.

October 27.—The so-called War Cabinet in Great Britain, with extraordinary powers, is supplanted by the customary peace-time form with enlarged personnel.

October 30.—The financial policy of the Lloyd George government is approved in the British House of Commons by a majority of 355.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 13.—The Italian poet-captain, Gabriele d'Annunzio, enters Fiume at the head of several thousand soldiers and assumes control of the contested port in defiance of the Italian military authorities and the Allied army of occupation.

September 14.—Premier Venizelos declares that Greece would be glad to see the United States take a mandate for Armenia.

September 19.—A peace treaty is handed to the Bulgarian delegation by the representatives of the five great powers; the principal territory taken from Bulgaria is that of Western Thrace; the army is reduced to 20,000 and reparation fixed at \$445,000,000.

September 22.—President Khatitian of Armenia is reported as declaring at a dinner to American relief representatives that Armenia ten months after the armistice is on the point of extermination and needs troops, not investigators.

September 25.—An independent Italian force seizes the port of Trau; upon the suggestion of an Italian naval officer and upon the approach of Serbian troops, a small force of Americans is landed from the *Olympia* and the Italians are persuaded to withdraw.

September 26.—Viscount Grey arrives in the United States as Ambassador from Great Britain.

September 27.—The Allied governments present a note to Germany again demanding the withdrawal of German troops in Russian territory, in the Baltic region; failure to comply will result in withholding foodstuffs and raw materials.

October 2.—King Albert of Belgium, accompanied by Queen Elizabeth and Crown Prince Leopold, arrives at New York on an extended visit to the United States.

October 13.—The Lettish Foreign Office reports that for five days Lettish troops before Riga have been resisting German attacks; Allied cruisers and Lithuanian soldiers are participating in the defense.

October 16.—It becomes known that the Supreme Council has invited Germany and the European neutrals to join in blockading Bolshevik Russia.

October 24.—The Bulgarian reply to the peace terms of the Allies is handed to the secretary of the peace conference.

October 25.—The President of the Austrian Republic signs the peace treaty of St. Germain, completing acceptance by Austria.

October 26.—The United States consular agent at Puebla, held for ransom by Mexicans since October 19, is released upon payment of \$150,000; the money is furnished by friends, but it is understood that the Mexican government will be held responsible.

The new Ambassador from Japan, Kijuro Shidehara, arrives in the United States.

October 31.—The Belgian royal family leaves the United States for home, after a rousing welcome in all parts of the country.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 14.—A hurricane and a tidal wave in and near Corpus Christi, Texas, render thousands homeless and cause the death of more than 300 persons.

September 17.—General Pershing leads the troops of the First Division in a parade in Washington, over the historic route along Pennsylvania Avenue.

The head of the United States Steel Corporation gives his reasons for declining to meet union leaders; he believes that the men do not represent large numbers of employees, and that conferring with them would be treated as recognition of the "closed shop."

The Rev. Charles Sumner Burch is chosen Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York.

September 18.—A new world's record for altitude flying is established by Roland Rohlfs in a Curtiss triplane near New York; he ascends 34,610 feet (more than six and a half miles), the thermometer recording a temperature of 43 degrees below zero.

September 20.—A convention of the United Mine Workers of America, at Cleveland, approves a resolution demanding the immediate nationalization of the coal-mining industry.

September 21.—A general strike in Boston, in support of the police, is unanimously rejected by labor union men, upon the advice of their leaders, as "not opportune."

September 22.—A strike in the steel industry, aimed chiefly at the United States Steel Corporation but involving practically all the country's iron and steel mills, succeeds in closing many plants but fails to fulfill the leaders' predictions; the men demand wage increases and shorter hours, but the fight is principally to establish union supremacy.

September 23.—The second day of the steel strike shows many plants entirely closed, the unions having greater strength in the Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio districts than in Pennsylvania.

The United Mine Workers of America, in convention, demand a 60 per cent increase in wages, with a six-hour day and a five-day week.

Revised statistics of war casualties in the American army are published; 35,585 were killed in action, 14,742 died of wounds, 58,073 died of disease; the total deaths were 116,492, with 205,590 wounded.

September 26.—It is announced that John D. Rockefeller has given \$20,000,000 to the General Education Board, which he founded, to be used for the betterment of medical education in the United States.

September 27.—A railway strike in Great Britain completely ties up the transportation systems; the Government puts into effect measures formulated for war emergencies, reviving food rationing and motor-truck transportation.

The volcano Mauna Loa, in Hawaii, begins to throw forth a stream of lava one thousand feet wide and more than twenty feet deep, a virtual river flowing down to the sea.

September 28.—A mob in Omaha lynches a negro murderer after setting fire to the new court house; during the rioting the Mayor is seriously injured; the War Department sends troops from nearby posts.

October 1.—Factional strife between printers' unions in New York completely suspends the publication of more than 150 weekly and monthly periodicals; more or less in the background is the workers' demand for a \$50 wage and a 44-hour week.

October 5.—Disturbances by strikers in the great steel city of Gary cause the Mayor to request the presence of Indiana State troops.

The British railway strike is ended by a compromise agreement; wages are to remain at the present level until October, 1920, with a minimum of \$12.75 a week.

October 6.—A National Industrial Conference is convened at Washington, growing out of the suggestion of President Wilson, with delegates representing capital, labor and the public.

Federal troops take charge of the situation at Gary, upon the request of the Governor of Indiana.

The War Department states that more than one-third of the American soldiers wounded in the war were gas casualties—74,573, besides 1194 cases which resulted in death.

October 7.—The Industrial Conference chooses Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, as chairman and formulates rules.

A strike of longshoremen in New York City, without warning and in defiance of their own officials, causes interference with the sailing of passenger transport, and freight vessels and grave danger to the city's food supply; the men demand \$1 an hour, although bound by a 70-cent agreement running to December 1.

The United Confederate Veterans meet in their twenty-ninth annual reunion, at Atlanta.

October 8.—A transcontinental airplane race is started simultaneously at San Francisco and New York, with 65 competitors.

October 12.—The United States Navy completes its task of clearing the vast mine field which it had laid in the North Sea.

October 15.—Bituminous coal miners are ordered by their president to quit work on October 31, negotiations with the operators having failed to bring about an agreement, the men have been working under an arbitration arrangement holding "until the ending of the war or until March 31, 1920."

October 18.—In the transcontinental air race, Lieut. B. W. Maynard is the first to complete his flight; from New York to San Francisco and return (5400 miles) he occupied ten days, actual flying time being less than 48 hours; an accident in Nebraska adds twenty hours to his official time.

October 22.—The Labor members withdraw from the Industrial Conference, after the employers' group rejects a proposal recognizing collective bargaining, in which the public group concurred.

An expressmen's strike in New York is ended by the demand of the Director General of Railroads that the men return to work pending a decision of the Wage Adjustment Board; otherwise the men will be dismissed and the full power of the Government exercised to render express service to the public.

Lieut. Alexander Pearson, arriving at New York, is the apparent winner of the army's transcontinental air race, his official flying time being 48 hours and 37 minutes for the 5400 miles.

October 24.—The National Industrial Conference at Washington comes to an end, the public group deciding not to continue alone.

At the final session of the triennial convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Bishop Thomas F. Gailor of Tennessee is elected chairman of the new executive council, virtual executive head of the Church.

October 29.—Officials of the United Mine Workers, meeting at Indianapolis, declare that a strike of bituminous miners cannot be avoided, that the men's demands are subject to negotiation, and that responsibility rests upon the coal operators.

The American Federation of Labor and the four railroad brotherhoods issue a joint call for a conference of executives of national and international unions (in Washington on December 13) to discuss "the grave situation confronting labor."

OBITUARY

September 13.—Leonid Nikolaievich Andreyeff, the Russian novelist, 48.

September 15.—Ben F. Allen, a widely known Washington newspaper correspondent, 41.

September 17.—Brig.-Gen. James M. Bell, U. S. A., retired, 81.

September 18.—Joseph B. Thompson, Representative in Congress from Oklahoma, 52.

September 20.—Ramon Barros Luca, President of Chile, 1910-1915.

September 21.—Theodore Perry Shonts, president of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company in New York City and former chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 63.

September 22.—D. Newlin Fell, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 78.

September 24.—Howard C. Hollister, of Cincinnati, Judge of the United States District Court, 63.

September 25.—Charles Lang Freer, the Detroit art collector and philanthropist, 65. . . . John S. Washburn of Minneapolis, head of one of the country's largest flour mills, 61.

September 26.—Don Albert Pardee, of Atlanta, Judge of the United States Court of Appeals, 82.

September 27.—Adelina Patti, the famous operatic singer, 76. . . . Viscount Francis Leveson Bertie, for thirteen years British Ambassador to France, 75. . . . Rear-Adm. Edwin C. Pendleton, U. S. N., retired, 72.

September 28.—Henry Whitelaw Bond, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri, 71.

September 30.—Brig.-Gen. Charles Lawrence Cooper, U. S. A., retired, 74. . . . Patrick Egan, former United States Minister to Chile and pioneer advocate of Irish Home Rule, 78.

October 1.—Victorino de la Plaza, President of the Argentine Republic, 1914-1916. . . . Sir Edward Tyas Cook, a widely known British editor and author, 62.

October 3.—John C. Sage, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Salina (Kansas), 53.

October 4.—Solomon Schinasi, the cigarette manufacturer.

October 7.—Henry Mills Alden, for half a century editor of *Harpers Magazine*, 82. . . . Alfred Deakin, twice Premier of Australia, 63. . . . Francis Emanuel Shover, a former member of Congress from New York City, 58. . . . Cyril G. Hopkins, of the University of Illinois, a leading authority in agricultural chemistry, 53.

October 9.—Carlos Melendez, recently President of Salvador, 58.

October 11.—Rev. David Gregg, D. D., prominent as a Presbyterian minister in Boston and New York and later president of Western Theological Seminary, 73. . . . Brig.-Gen. William Trent Russell, U. S. A., retired, 70.

October 14.—Bishop Philip J. Garrigan, of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Sioux City, 79. . . . Dr. Kuno Meyer, professor of Celtic language and literature in the University of Berlin, 61.

October 15.—Rear-Adm. Richardson Clover, U. S. N., retired, 73.

October 19.—William Waldorf Astor, the American multi-millionaire who became a British subject and peer, 71. . . . William P. Sheffield, former Representative in Congress from Rhode Island.

October 20.—Martin D. Foster, recently a Representative in Congress from Illinois, 58.

October 21.—Alfred T. Ringling, head of the famous circus family, 56. . . . Brig.-Gen. Philip Reade, U. S. A., retired, 75.

October 22.—Alexander Peckover, first Baron Wisbech, a widely known Quaker banker of London and former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 89.

October 23.—George W. Elkins, of Philadelphia, prominent in finance and traction affairs, 61.

October 24.—J. Henry Williams, judge of the Superior Court of Pennsylvania, 55.

October 25.—Sir Ernest Albert Waterlow, a noted British landscape painter, 69.

October 26.—Reuben O. Moon, a former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, 72. . . . Field Marshall Gottlieb von Haeseler, the German Crown Prince's military adviser during the Verdun attack, 84.

October 30.—Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox, the widely known writer of inspirational verse, 64. . . . Charles Herman Steinway, the piano manufacturer, 62.

MORE CARTOONS OF UNREST



HE FEELS THE KICK
From the Tribune (Chicago)



"SIT DOWN!"
From the Star (St. Louis)

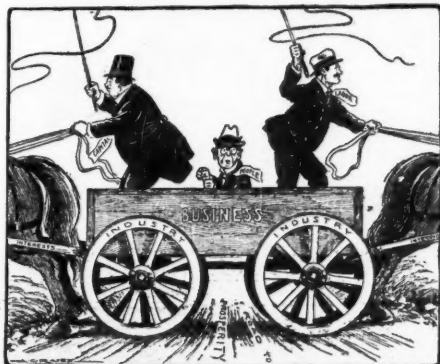


THE WORLD'S ONLY OVERPRODUCTION
From the News (Dayton, O.)



"PASS THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE AT ONCE!"

From *The Passing Show* (London)



DON'T BE SILLY!

Man in middle (who pays for it all): "Here, get together! Make a team of your horses and let us get somewhere!"

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)



THE CAT THAT CAME BACK—WITH ANOTHER CAT!

From *Opinion* (London)



CAPITAL AND LABOR—PAST AND PRESENT

From *De Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



NONE SO BLIND

THE SHOWMAN: "Hullo! You'd better be careful how you go to work with that saw!"

THE MAN-UP-THE-TREE: "That's all right, mate. I don't care. It ain't my tree!"

From *The Passing Show* (London)



"GOT A MATCH?"

From the *Tribune* (New York)



THE ONLY KIND OF STRIKING NEEDED JUST NOW

From the *News* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



THE MODERN NERO

From the *Times* (New York)



"A WEEK?"

From the *Evening World* (New York)©



THE GOOSE THAT LAYS THE GOLDEN EGGS

From the *News* (Chicago)



JACK THE GIANT-PROFITEER KILLER

GIANT: "I'll thunder against you!"

JACK [a bill in the legislature]: "I'll act, not talk!"

From *Hindi Punch* (Bombay, India)



THE LITTLE PEACE TREE

Each with his own watering pot carefully nourishes the plant, for his own purposes
From *Hojas Selectas* (Barcelona, Spain)



THE MASTERPIECE

SHADE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN (to President Wilson):
"Go steadily on, Mr. President—never mind foolish criticism. I suffered the same thing."
From *Opinion* (London)



ORPHEUS AND THE WILD BEASTS

"Be careful, Orpheus, you are striking false notes."
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

The Dutch cartoonist has drawn upon Greek mythology for inspiration in setting forth the Fiume situation. Orpheus was a poet, as is d'Annunzio. But Orpheus also played so sweetly on his lyre as to charm not only his fellow mortals but also the wild beasts and even the rocks and trees.

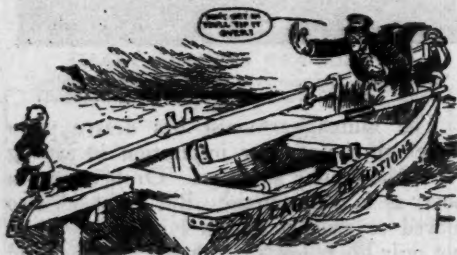


SPOILING THE LEAGUE-OF-NATIONS SOUP

Everybody wants his own bit of meat from the bottom
From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



SENATORIAL IMPROVEMENTS
From the News (Detroit, Mich.)



WORRIED
From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



THE FIRST TO WIPE HIS FEET ON IT
From the Evening Dispatch (Columbus, Ohio)



"RUN NOW—FLY IT, IF YOU CAN!"
From the Republic (St. Louis, Mo.)

Our readers will have noticed that the prevalent social and political unrest that marks this present time is reflected in the cartoons selected for reproduction this month, as it was to a lesser degree, perhaps, in the October issue.



SHALL IT BE "INTERPRETED" TO DEATH?
"I am confident . . . that our example would immediately be followed in many quarters."—The President.
From the World-Herald (Omaha, Neb.)

WAS ROOSEVELT WEEK A SUCCESS?

BY HERMANN HAGEDORN

SOME months ago the Roosevelt Memorial Association sent out an appeal through the newspapers of the country and through the State and local officers of the Association, calling on the American people to observe the week of October 20th to 27th as "Roosevelt Week", and to dedicate that week to the inauguration of a movement to perpetuate the memory of Theodore Roosevelt and the principles for which he stood.

The Association asked, furthermore, that Roosevelt's sixty-first birthday, falling on October 27th, be celebrated by special exercises throughout the Union. It called particularly on the schools of the country to bring before the boys and girls the life and character of the man who, possibly more than any other American, has appealed to the imagination of youth. Finally, the Association called for voluntary subscriptions for a memorial park in Oyster Bay, a monumental memorial in Washington and a Roosevelt Foundation "for the development and application of Theodore Roosevelt's ideals of Americanism and citizenship."

"Roosevelt Week" is now in the past. What response did a nation of a hundred and ten million people, absorbed in the readjustments following a great war and disturbed by rumblings of social and industrial unrest, make to the Association's leadership?

The question is important and demands cold-blooded analysis, for it has a bearing on these troubled times. For the point at issue is not the sentimental question whether or not the American people really loved Theodore Roosevelt as much as they seemed to love him, but whether or not they believe to-day in those principles of equality of rights and obligations, undivided allegiance and liberty under law which we group under the term "Americanism" and of which the name Theodore Roosevelt has become the outstanding symbol.

It is impossible as yet to give definite figures. No one in the Roosevelt Memorial Association or out of it will be able to tell for some time to come exactly how many meetings were held in honor of Colonel

Roosevelt during the week of memorial observances, how many children listened to words in praise of the great American and united in repeating the pledge to the flag in his memory, how many people, young and old, joined the Association, how many dollars were subscribed. But it is possible to say that the week of October 20th to 27th saw a wave of enthusiasm for Roosevelt sweep the country which surprised and stirred none more by its magnitude than the leaders whose appeal had called it forth.

Millions of School Children

On October 27, Oregon telegraphed the national headquarters of the Memorial Association: "Three hundred grade and high schools and thirty-five hundred district schools are holding Roosevelt meetings to-day. Four hundred cities and villages will have meetings to-night." Illinois wired: "One million nine hundred and fifty thousand school children in Illinois are to-day observing Roosevelt's birthday." From South Dakota came the word: "Six thousand schools in South Dakota are holding Roosevelt exercises to-day." Ohio sent this message: "Every county, city, community and school in the State will celebrate Roosevelt's birthday." In New Jersey a million men, women and children attended Roosevelt meetings on the afternoon and evening of the 27th alone; in Nebraska, 400,000 children, gathered in memorial meetings, sent greetings to the national Association. Every city, town, college and public school in New Mexico held meetings; in Nevada every school held memorial exercises.

Idaho telegraphed: "Governor Davis has issued proclamation making October 27th Roosevelt Memorial Day for schools in Idaho. Every county school superintendent taking active part. All ministers in the State are preaching sermons on Americanism to-day." Montana, announcing a membership in the Association of sixty thousand, wired: "Public schools and educational institutions are observing day with suitable ceremonies. Mass meetings of citizens in

principal towns and cities are being held in honor of Roosevelt's memory."

In New York City alone over a thousand meetings were held, and in every town and village in New England and the Middle States the day was observed by mass meetings or special school exercises. The South, stronghold of the Democratic party, responded with equal enthusiasm. The Governors of a number of Southern States issued special proclamations. A county in Georgia with a quota of \$200 contributed \$4000 to the fund; another with a quota of \$400 raised \$1600; every small town in the State trebled the amount suggested as its quota.

Party Lines Disappeared

Party lines vanished utterly in the endeavor to do adequate honor to the memory of the man who had been an American before he was a Republican. Tammany Hall held meetings in every election district in New York City. Everywhere Democratic newspapers extolled the patriotic service of the man whom politically they had opposed, and at countless meetings Democrats joined with Republicans in giving tribute of enthusiasm and devotion. The most important meeting, held in New York City, at which Herbert C. Hoover was the guest of honor and Elihu Root the principal speaker, was presided over by Alton B. Parker, Democratic nominee for President in the campaign of 1904 when Roosevelt was elected by an unprecedented majority. The Democratic Governor of New York, Alfred E. Smith, issued a special proclamation, calling on the citizens of the State to observe Roosevelt's birthday.

From Panama came word of \$7000 subscribed; from Cuba came the announcement of a proclamation by President Menocal calling on the Cuban Congress to appropriate \$50,000 to the Roosevelt memorial fund, and the pledge of \$100,000 more in popular subscriptions; Alaska, Porto Rico and the Philippines cabled news of the formation of branches of the Memorial Association. Hawaii wired: "All ministers in Hawaii are using Roosevelt's life as subject of their sermons on Sunday. Addresses Wednesday in every school, public and private, in Hawaii. Memorial services Roosevelt's birthday by Boy Scouts, Y. M. C. A., Army and Navy and Admiral Jellicoe's officers and men." Americans in England, France and Italy held meetings. Marshal Foch, Marshal Joffre and M. Clemenceau sent messages of sym-

thetic interest to the Memorial Association.

The meetings varied in plan and detail, but all seem to have been alike in their spirit of high devotion to the memory of Theodore Roosevelt and the things for which he stood. Old enmities were forgotten. The men who had fought at Roosevelt's side seemed scarcely more enthusiastic than the men who had fought against him. October 27th was a great day of forgiving and forgetting for the common good of all. Black men and white men spoke from the same platform; Protestants, Catholics, and Jews joined in singing Roosevelt's favorite hymn, "How firm a foundation."

Passage of the Roosevelt Flag

The State of which Colonel Roosevelt was a "native son" saw a unique spectacle. Starting from the house at Buffalo where Roosevelt was inaugurated President on the death of President McKinley, a "Roosevelt flag," red and white stripes with a blue field but without stars, was borne by relays of boy runners to forty-eight places of historic interest in the State. At each resting-place, five young girls sewed on a star, until, seven weeks after it began its thousand mile journey, the last star was sewn on at the Cove School in Oyster Bay on October 27, and the flag was laid for a day on Theodore Roosevelt's grave and then given for safe-keeping to the mistress of Sagamore Hill. The passage of the flag was the occasion of extraordinary patriotic demonstrations on the part of the children along the line of its triumphal journey.

Colonel William Boyce Thompson, president of the Roosevelt Memorial Association, estimated that during the week of October 20th to 27th approximately 300,000 meetings were held throughout the country in memory of Theodore Roosevelt. From preliminary reports he placed the number of members enrolled by November first as over a million.

Was "Roosevelt Week" a success? It was an astounding success, recalling to millions, in a critical moment of the nation's history, those basic principles of which Theodore Roosevelt was and will ever remain the symbol. For an hour here, for a quarter-hour there, for an evening, for a day, elsewhere, throughout the length and breadth of the land, men, women and children paused in their labors and their pleasures to pay tribute to Theodore Roosevelt and through him to the flag he loved.

ROOSEVELT ON LABOR AND THE COURTS

[The wisdom of President Roosevelt and his frankness in dealing with the issues between capital and labor that arose in the period of his Presidency have now become a legacy to the country that will be appreciated in the days to come even more than they were in his own time. He did not hesitate to attack abuses of power on the part of the management of great corporations, and in the last part of his second term he was bitterly antagonized by the men who dominated the principal agencies of organized capital.]

In his first term he had been compelled to face a great national emergency in the shape of a coal strike of the anthracite miners in Pennsylvania. The miners had been only recently organized, and the financial and railroad interests that controlled the mines refused to deal collectively with the men. President Roosevelt took bold measures which broke the strike; forced the "coal barons" to tolerate the unions and accept arbitration; and created the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission under the chairmanship of Judge Gray, which brought peace, hope, and social progress into the mining districts.

There was created an impression in certain quarters that Mr. Roosevelt was hostile to capital, and did not appreciate the point of view of the leaders of industry, commerce and finance. This, however, was a mistaken impression. Mr. Roosevelt stood always for justice and human rights as against arrogance, greed, or menace on the part of any particular private or class interest. In the election of 1908, in which President Roosevelt was supporting the candidacy of his successor, William Howard Taft, the dominant leaders of organized labor were in strong opposition to the President and to the Republican candidate, and were clamoring against the Courts of law. They had demanded certain legislation which would have given better opportunity for unrestricted boycotting, and for the unlimited employment of the sympathetic strike and other militant methods of trade-unionism at its worst.

President Roosevelt, in his last annual message to Congress, December, 1908, expressed himself upon this attitude of labor leadership in plain terms; and the wisdom of his remarks becomes freshly apparent in the light of conditions existing to-day, after a lapse of eleven years. What we print below is an extract from that Presidential message of December, 1908.—THE EDITOR]

AT the last election certain leaders of organized labor made a violent and sweeping attack upon the entire judiciary of the country, an attack couched in such terms as to include the most upright, honest, and broad-minded judges, no less than those of narrower mind and more restricted outlook. It was the kind of attack admirably fitted to prevent any successful attempt to reform abuses of the judiciary, because it gave the champions of the unjust judge their eagerly desired opportunity to shift their ground into a championship of just judges who were unjustly assailed.

Last year, before the House Committee on the Judiciary, these same labor leaders formulated their demands, specifying the bill that contained them, refusing all compro-

mise, stating they wished the principle of that bill or nothing. They insisted on a provision that in a labor dispute no injunction should issue except to protect a property right, and specifically provided that the right to carry on business should not be construed as a property right; and in a second provision their bill made legal in a labor dispute any act or agreement by or between two or more persons that would not have been unlawful if done by a single person.

In other words, this bill legalized black-listing and boycotting in every form—legalizing, for instance, those forms of the secondary boycott which the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission so unreservedly condemned; while the right to carry on a business was explicitly taken out from under

that protection which the law throws over property. The demand was made that there should be trial by jury in contempt cases, thereby most seriously impairing the authority of the courts. All this represented a course of policy which, if carried out, would mean the enthronement of class privilege in its crudest and most brutal form, and the destruction of one of the most essential functions of the judiciary in all civilized lands.

The violence of the crusade for this legislation, and its complete failure, illustrate two truths which it is essential our people should learn. In the first place, they ought to teach the workingmen, the laborer, the wage-worker, that by demanding what is improper and impossible he plays into the hands of his foes.

Such a crude and vicious attack upon the courts, even if it were temporarily successful, would inevitably in the end cause a violent reaction and would band the great mass of citizens together, forcing them to stand by all the judges, competent and incompetent alike, rather than to see the wheels of justice stopped. A movement of this kind can ultimately result in nothing but damage to those in whose behalf it is nominally undertaken. This is a most healthy truth, which it is wise for all our people to learn.

Any movement based on that class hatred which at times assumes the name of "class consciousness" is certain ultimately to fail, and if it temporarily succeeds, to do far-reaching damage. "Class consciousness", where it is merely another name for the odious vice of class selfishness, is equally noxious whether in an employer's association or in a workingman's association.

The movement in question was one in which the appeal was made to all workingmen to vote primarily, not as American citizens, but as individuals of a certain class in society. Such an appeal in the first place revolts the more high-minded and far-sighted among the persons to whom it is addressed, and in the second place tends to arouse a strong antagonism among all other classes of citizens, whom it therefore tends to unite against the very organization on whose behalf it is issued. The result is therefore unfortunate from every standpoint. This healthy truth, by the way, will be learned by the socialists if they ever succeed in establishing in this country an important national party based on such class consciousness and selfish class interest.

The wage-workers, the workingmen, the laboring men of the country, by the way in which they repudiated the effort to get them to cast their votes in response to an appeal to class hatred, have emphasized their sound patriotism and Americanism. The whole country has cause to feel pride in this attitude of sturdy independence, in this uncompromising insistence upon acting simply as good citizens, as good Americans, without regard to fancied—and improper—class interests. Such an attitude is an object-lesson in good citizenship to the entire nation.

Honest Judges the Nation's Bulwark

But the extreme reactionaries, the persons who blind themselves to the wrongs now and then committed by the courts on laboring men, should also think seriously as to what such a movement as this portends. The judges who have shown themselves able and willing effectively to check the dishonest activity of the very rich man who works iniquity by the mismanagement of corporations, who have shown themselves alert to do justice to the wage-worker, and sympathetic with the needs of the mass of our people, so that the dweller in the tenement houses, the man who practices a dangerous trade, the man who is crushed by excessive hours of labor, feel that their needs are understood by the courts—these judges are the real bulwark of the courts; these judges, the judges of the stamp of the President-elect [Mr. Taft], who have been fearless in opposing labor when it has gone wrong, but fearless also in holding to strict account corporations that work iniquity, and far-sighted in seeing that the workingman gets his rights, are the men of all others to whom we owe it that the appeal for such violent and mistaken legislation has fallen on deaf ears, that the agitation for its passage proved to be without substantial basis.

The courts are jeopardized primarily by the action of these Federal and State judges who show inability or unwillingness to put a stop to the wrongdoing of very rich men under modern industrial conditions, and inability or unwillingness to give relief to men of small means or wage-workers who are crushed down by these modern industrial conditions; who, in other words, fail to understand and apply the needed remedies for the new wrongs produced by the new and highly complex social and industrial civilization which has grown up in the last half-century.

PRESENT INDUSTRIAL ISSUES

BY ELBERT H. GARY

[Judge Gary has been the most conspicuous leader among those representing the views of employers and of the non-unionized general public in the controversies of the present season that have resulted from the militant attitude of the leaders of organized labor. As head of the United States Steel Corporation, he was at the center of the resistance to the attack made by the outside "organizers" who precipitated the strike in the steel industry for the sake of unionizing that great field of production. Later he became the pivotal figure in the President's White House Conference, called to find some new methods of harmonizing labor and capital, and of bringing about a full resumption of economic effort, at a time when large production is demanded.]

In that Conference, the labor leaders stood for one form and type of relationship, namely, that of "collective bargaining" conducted on the labor side solely through trade-unionism. Judge Gary, though a member of the group representing the public, stood with the employers' group for the rights of individuals, and for other forms of labor association and of collective bargaining, in addition to the forms that the officials of the unions and the leaders of the American Federation of Labor prescribe and demand as the only kind to be recognized.

After the failure of the Washington conference, Judge Gary, as president of the American Iron and Steel Institute, addressed a meeting of that body in New York on October 24. There were present from 1500 to 2000 men representing the entire industry of the country. Judge Gary's views, as expressed in the speech, were unanimously endorsed and accepted as expressing the attitude of the men who manage and direct this greatest of all our basic industries except agriculture.

Judge Gary regards the "open shop" principle as the fundamental issue. In view of three things—namely, the steel strike, the President's Labor Conference, and the prevalence of actual or menaced strikes—we think it important to print herewith in full this speech by Judge Gary, which reached the public only in a fragmentary way. It has importance because of Mr. Gary's actual position as head of the largest of the steel companies, and by further reason of the fact that his views are known to be accepted by many other large employers outside of the iron and steel industry, and by many leaders of thought and action.—THE EDITOR.]

THE attention of the members of the American Iron and Steel Institute has of late been focussed on the attempt of leaders in the American Federation of Labor to unionize the iron and steel industry of this country.

The present campaign was started at St. Paul, Minn., June 13, 1918, by the adoption of a resolution introduced by delegate W. Z. Foster, couched in the following language:

Whereas, The organization of the vast armies of wage earners employed in the steel industries is vitally necessary to the further spread of industrial democracy in America; and

Whereas, Organized Labor can accomplish this great task only by putting forth a tremendous effort; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to call a conference, during this convention, of dele-

gates of all international unions whose interests are involved in the steel industries, and of all the State Federations and City Central bodies in the steel districts, for the purpose of uniting all these organizations into one mighty drive to organize the steel plants of America.

The movement appears to have proceeded, under the general direction of Foster, without much result until June 13, 1919, when another resolution was adopted by the American Federation of Labor at a meeting held in Atlantic City, which reads as follows:

Whereas, Every labor union in America, regardless of its trade or industry, has a direct and positive interest in the organization of the workers in the iron and steel industry, because the accomplishment of this vital task will greatly weaken the opposition of employers everywhere, to the extension of trade unionism and the establishment of decent conditions of work and wages; and

Whereas, The organizing force now in the field working upon this vast project is altogether inadequate in strength to carry on the work in the vigorous manner imperatively demanded by the situation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and Chairman of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers, be authorized to call a conference, during the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the heads of all international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., to the end that they make arrangements to lend their assistance to the organization of the iron and steel industry.

President Gompers thereupon named the heads of twenty-four affiliated organizations to act as a committee to develop and carry out plans for unionizing the iron and steel industry pursuant to the resolutions mentioned. You are familiar with what has occurred since that time, and you are more or less acquainted with the history of the different union leaders who have been connected with the attempt to enlist the employes and to bring about a strike in the manufacturing works. The strike, which has been directed by the union labor leaders and was begun, so far as I am informed, without any request or authorization from the workmen themselves, has been conducted in the usual way.

Immediately preceding the day fixed for ordering out the men, intimidating letters, large numbers of them being anonymous, were sent to the families of the workmen threatening physical injury to the father or husband, damage to or destruction of the home and kidnapping of the children unless the employe referred to should obey the order to strike. A number of the workmen, who had joined the unions voluntarily, accepted the order to strike and others remained away from the factories through fear.

In many, if not most of the mills, the larger number of employes continued to work without interruption. At the beginning, many of the workmen who attempted to continue their work and others who had remained at home through fear and attempted to return, were confronted in the public streets and elsewhere by strikers, or pickets, and importuned to engage in the strike; and many were assaulted and seriously injured. After protection was afforded by the police, sheriffs' deputies, State constabulary, and in some cases State or National troops, the numbers resuming work increased appreciably from day to day until in many places operations are about normal. Taken as a whole,

the situation at present is good and steadily improving.

The Sole Issue—Closed Shop or Open Shop

It will be observed that the strike is not the result of any claim by any workmen for higher wages or better treatment, nor for any reason except the desire and effort on the part of union labor leaders to unionize the iron and steel industry. As stated in the first resolution, the action taken was "for the purpose of uniting all these organizations into one mighty drive to organize the steel plants of America."

Without discussing for the present the merit or demerit of labor unions, it may be observed that union labor leaders openly state that they seek to unionize or, as they say, "organize" the whole industry of this country. Those who do not contract or deal with unions, although they do not combat them, insist upon absolute freedom to both employer and employe in regard to employment and the management of the shops. The non-union employers and employees both stand for the open shop. The unions argue for the closed shop or, as the leaders now insist, "the right of collective bargaining through labor-union leaders."

Every proposition contended for by the labor unions at the National Industrial Conference at Washington led to domination of the shops and of the men by the union labor leaders. Every position taken by the other side centered on the open shop. This is the great question confronting the American people and, in fact, the world public. From 80 per cent. to 90 per cent. or more of labor in this country is non-union. It is for them and the employers generally, and the large class of men and women who are not, strictly speaking, employers or wage earners, to determine whether or not it is best for the whole community to have industry totally organized.

Judging by experience, we believe it is for the best interest of employer and employee and the general public to have a business conducted on the basis of what we term the "open shop," thus permitting any man to engage in any line of employment, or any employer to secure the services of any workman on terms agreed upon between the two, whether the workman is or is not connected with a labor union. The verdict of the people at large will finally decide this question, and the decision will be right.

Why the Industrial Conference Failed

I think the fundamental question submitted to the Conference for recommendation to industries was the open shop; that question apparently could not be decided by majority vote for the reason that the Conference was organized into three groups called Labor, Employers, and Public. No affirmative action under the constitution or adopted rules could be taken except by the unanimous vote of the three groups, each of which voted by a majority of all its members. It was necessary to have such a condition, as otherwise there could be no conference in which there would be an agreement between capital and labor, so-called.

Collective Bargaining

The union labor advocates stand for collective bargaining through the unions. The others favor collective bargaining through representatives selected by the employees themselves from their own numbers.

The Employers' Group offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That, without in any way limiting the right of a wage earner to refrain from joining any association or to deal directly with his employer as he chooses, the right of wage earners in private as distinguished from Government employment to organize in trade and labor unions, in shop industrial councils, or other lawful form of association, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment, is recognized; and the right of the employer to deal or not to deal with men or groups of men who are not his employees and chosen by and from among them is recognized; and no denial is intended of the right of an employer and his workers voluntarily to agree upon the form of their representative relations.

The Employers' Group voted in favor of this resolution. The Public Group and the Union Labor Group voted against it.

The Public Group offered the following resolution:

The right of wage earners in trade and labor unions to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment is recognized.

This must not be understood as limiting the right of any wage earner to refrain from joining any organization or to deal directly with his employer if he so chooses.

The Public Group voted in favor of this resolution. The Employers' Group and the Union Labor Group voted against it.

The Union Labor Group finally offered the following resolution:

The right of wage earners to organize without discrimination, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment is recognized.

The Union Labor Group and the Public Group voted in favor of the resolution. The Employers' Group voted against it. Thereupon the Union Labor Group retired from the Conference.

All through the Conference whenever the question of collective bargaining was discussed, it was apparent that the union labor leaders would not support any resolution in favor of collective bargaining except on the basis that collective bargaining meant bargaining through labor unions.

As further evidence of the attitude of the union labor leaders it may be mentioned that in the twelve points published by the leaders who were conducting the strike they included and insisted upon the following: "Abolition of company unions."

The Unions claim that collective bargaining through different forms of shop organization, made up of the employees tends to limit the extension of unions by increasing their numbers. The non-union employees and their employers insist that collective bargaining through labor unions means that employees are forced to join the unions, as otherwise they could not be represented. So it is perfectly clear that the whole argument returns to the main proposition of *open or closed shop*.

In the Conference there was no objection offered by any one to some form of collective bargaining as between employees and employers, provided both were free from outside representation and direction.

The Labor Group, so called, was made up of union labor leaders, leaving unorganized labor without special representation. The same mistake seems to have been made by a large portion of the public which was made throughout the war, namely, that organized labor really represents the workmen or wage earners generally, notwithstanding, as a matter of fact, that at least 85 per cent. of the total are non-union—not members of any union organization.

The Employers' Group, in which were men first-class in every respect, included men connected with large and important lines of industry, and also included several others, some of whom at least should have been with the Labor Group. In selecting the Public Group there were overlooked thousands of vocations, professions, artisan and other lines of industry, all of whom are more or less affected by the cost of production, the expense of living and, therefore, the control and conditions of both labor and capital.

Improvement of Working Conditions

However, it would seem there were many objects which might appropriately have been considered by the Conference, and conclusions for recommendations arrived at by unanimous consent, which would be advantageous to the public good, and therefore to all mankind—such as working hours, living and working conditions, women's work, child labor, recreation, medical and surgical treatment, pensions, relief in times of stress, rates of compensation, schools, churches, and other educational facilities. With the right disposition and intelligence, the Public Group, as sole survivor of the Conference, might have agreed upon recommendations to the industrial world which should be of substantial benefit. All of us are in favor of these principles, and of any others that may be suggested which we believe will be of real benefit to the wage-earners and to the general public.

I conceive it to be proper in this family of industrial workers consisting of 2000 members of the most important basic industry, to claim that we have demonstrated in practice that we are upon a plane which is higher and better than ever before occupied by this industry in this country; that we have been striving to deserve the approval of all who are interested in our business and our decisions; that we have sought the confidence of our employees; our customers, our competitors, our principals who own the properties we manage, and the general public.

And yet it would be unfortunate if we could not discover opportunities for further improvement; if we failed to read or to listen to the criticisms of others; if we let pass the requests or suggestions of our workmen for changes which they believe would be proper concerning their employment; if we neglected to give our employees—individ-

ually or in groups—opportunities to discuss with the managers all questions of mutual interest; if we minimize in any degree the well-recognized fact that the public good is of prime importance and that private interests must be subordinated. It is a pleasure to me to know from long experience that I am appealing to a sympathetic audience in behalf of a continued effort, on our part, to be more worthy of the respect and confidence of every right-thinking person who is familiar with our industrial life.

Considerable has been said in public of late concerning the attempt to spread the doctrine of Bolshevism in this country. All of us have known for some time that this disease is persistent, and that there has been some inoculation even in this best of countries. Still, we deny that there is danger of serious trouble. There is only one way to treat this disease, and that is to stamp it out; to meet it boldly wherever it can be found; to expose it and give it no chance for development.

In this free country, with its reasonable laws wisely administered, its golden harvests, healthful climate, peace-loving inhabitants who are generous in contributions for relief and protection, schools, churches and hospitals, there is no room except in the prisons for the anarchist, the bolshevist, or the other individual who seeks to substitute the rule of force for the rule of law and reason. If there are slinking, desperate, murderous bolsheviks in this country, even in small numbers, I believe the Secret Service Department of the Government should detect and expose them, and that the iron hand of justice should punish them as they deserve. And, as I have faith in this country and in its institutions, I believe this will be done and done promptly.

Any one who doubts the ability of the proper authorities to protect the persons and property of our people against bolshevism and other similar doctrines, fails to appreciate the courage of our citizens, and the terrible force and strength of subdued calmness when they are surrounded by threatened danger.

For ourselves, let us be fair and just, considerate and determined, hopeful and complacent. We shall emerge from the waves of unrest which naturally follow the demoralization and terrors of war, and as a people we will be better and stronger than ever.

AMERICA'S GREATEST BATTLE: THE MEUSE-ARGONNE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ANNIVERSARY

THE article which I am now writing will be in the hands of the reader in the first days of November. These days mark the anniversary of the last phase of America's greatest battle and victory, that of the Meuse-Argonne, which was fought between September 26 and the day of the Armistice, November 11, 1918. Actually on November 1 the American troops began that march of victory, the final stage of their conflict, which carried them to Sedan, cut the Metz-Lille railway, the main western line of communications of all the German armies from the Vosges to the sea. On that day German resistance collapsed and at the moment when the war ended the Germans were still in flight with no prepared line of defense available until they were within their own territory.

When I went to France last January, General Pershing sent for me and on my request to be allowed to visit his battlefields and study them in detail he kindly promised to supply me with all facilities. As a result, in the first days of May, under the guidance of Lieutenant-Colonel Loustalot, a West Point officer, who had served with the artillery of the Fifth Corps in the Meuse-Argonne conflict, I made an extended tour over the battlefield. I have thought perhaps my readers would find interesting a narrative of the struggle, as explained to me on the ground, and permit me to postpone until next month a discussion of current European events.

In the present article, therefore, I shall endeavor to set forth briefly the story of the battle in which nearly 800,000 American troops were engaged and the American loss was greater than the army commanded by Meade at Gettysburg, Grant in the Wilderness, or, for that matter, Napoleon at Waterloo. By loss, I mean killed, wounded, and captured, but of the last there were very few, since we lost in prisoners just over 4000 in the whole of our participation, as against

63,000 Germans captured by our own troops alone in the course of the engagement.

II. THE GENERAL SITUATION

In the last week of September of 1918, the situation on the Western Front was this: The final German offensive, the "Peace Storm" of July 15, had ended in a complete failure, owing to the splendid strategy of the Fourth French army, commanded by General Gouraud.

On July 18 the first great counter-offensive, between the Marne and the Aisne, had resulted in pinching out the Marne Salient, depriving the Germans of the offensive in the West, and had narrowly missed becoming one of the great military disasters of history. In this offensive, made possible by the arrival of American troops, two of Pershing's divisions, the First and the Second, had occupied the place of honor with French Moroccan troops in the attack upon the Soissons corner of the salient, while at least four others had shared in the general operation with distinction.

On August 8 the British had struck a terrific blow south of the Somme, overrunning the German systems of defenses, inflicting a defeat which Ludendorff describes under the title of "Germany's Black Day." French and British troops had participated in the exploitation of this victory and by September 26th the Germans had been forced back into the Hindenburg Line, from which they had started their great attack of March 21. In addition they had retired from the Lys Salient, the fruit of their April success, to avoid disaster.

On September 12 the Americans, acting for the first time as a separate army, had pinched out the St. Mihiel salient, taking 15,000 prisoners and many guns, establishing a safe flank for their subsequent offensive, and completely unblocking Verdun. As a result of these three operations, between the Marne and the Aisne, on the Somme front, and at St. Mihiel, the German had

been driven back into his prepared positions, which stretched without marked salients from the sea to Switzerland and frontal attacks were necessary to dislodge him.

In this situation Foch had prepared a series of blows. In Belgium, British, Belgian and French troops, later aided by Americans, were to strike out of the old Ypres Salient to turn the Germans out of the Belgian seacoast. The main British forces, aided by French to the south and reinforced by two strong American divisions, were to attack between Cambrai and St. Quentin. Finally, the Fourth French Army, between Rheims and the Argonne, and the First American Army, between the Argonne and the Meuse, were to strike northward, while the American front was to be extended across the Meuse toward the Woevre Plain, across the Heights of the Meuse, when the appropriate moment arrived.

All these attacks were to be launched in the last four days and put terrific strain upon the German man-power. It was recognized that the German strategy would now be to avoid a military decision, to retire, slowly if necessary, and by prolonging the struggle into the winter months, when operations were impossible, seek to obtain a favorable peace by negotiation, banking upon the exhaustion of the European powers making up the alliance against her.

It was the hope and purpose of Foch to achieve a decision before winter, to break the military power of Germany before the weather closed operations, and thus to obtain a victorious peace instead of a negotiated settlement. To accomplish this he planned to use every possible resource. He possessed an immense superiority in numbers, but a superiority due entirely to the arrival of American divisions, without which the two forces were still equal.

While there were fixed objectives for each of the three great hammer thrusts, the chief objective was absolute victory, obtained by exhausting the German reserves. In March the Germans had opened an offensive designed to bring decisive victory before American aid became effective. They had failed and, thanks to American aid, our Allies had wrested the offensive from the Germans in the battle of July 18, ending all chance of German victory, while the British victory of August 8 had indicated the possibility of absolute Allied victory. But the race now was with winter, as the race, when Germany

possessed the initiative, was with America.

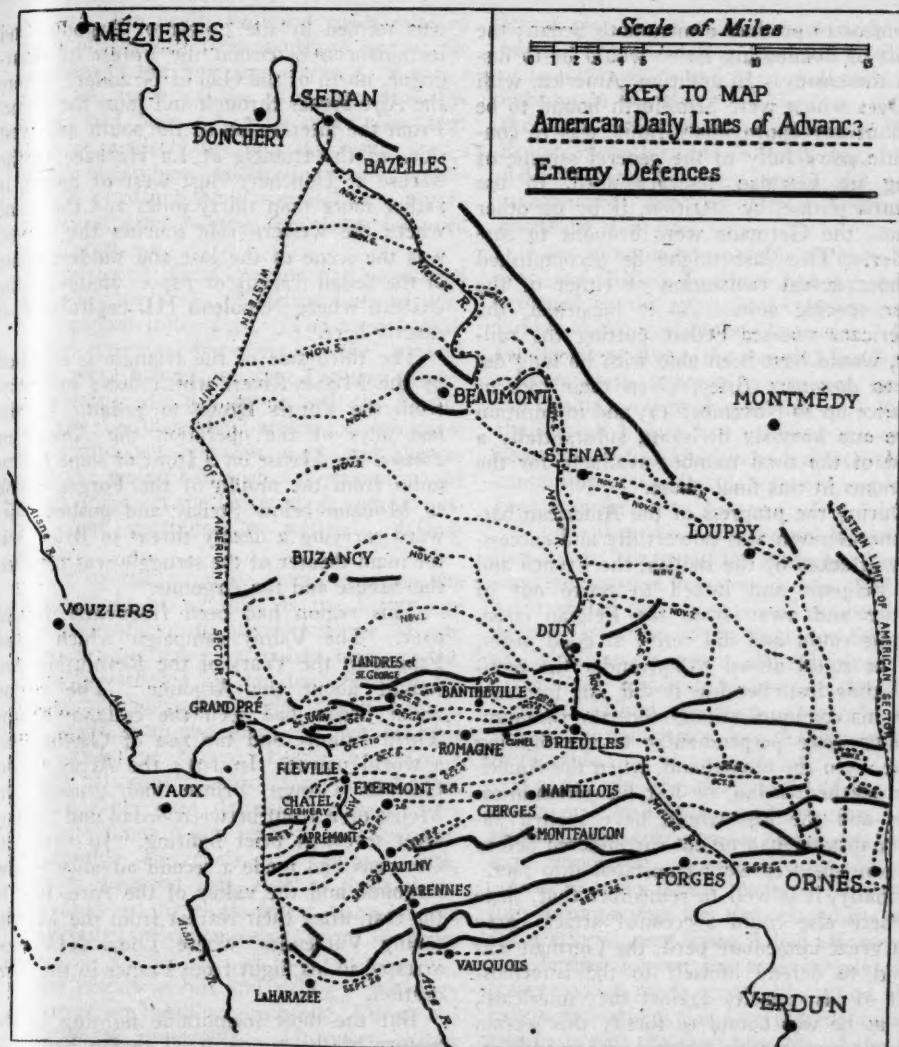
In the closing days of September, Foch's problem was, Can I force the Germans to surrender before winter sets in and the politicians take charge? He solved the problem. The Germans surrendered on November 11, precisely because they had used up their last reserves and were unable to meet new offensives already planned or stop victorious Allied armies advancing everywhere.

III. AMERICAN OBJECTIVES

For the First American Army, the mission in the general plan was as follows: All the German armies in France and Belgium were supplied by two trunk railway systems, the one passing through Belgium, crossing the Meuse at Liège and then spreading out fan-wise, sending arms all the way from Antwerp to Laon, and the other extending westward from Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg, but using a common route from Longuyon to Sedan, beyond which it in turn spread out, serving the front from Laon all the way to Verdun. In addition, this latter route, by its main extension to Maubeuge, bound the German front in Lorraine and Champagne with that in Flanders and Picardy.

Thanks to this line, the Germans were able to rush troops just behind the main front from west to east or east to west, as the necessity demanded. It was in fact the main cord which bound the two fronts together. But, as a result of the enormous concentration of troops and material in Western Belgium and Northern France, the Germans could not hope, in case of retreat, to get either their armies or their materials out of Belgium by the Liège road alone. If the Alsace-Lorraine line were cut, were cut on the Longuyon-Sedan sector, then a great disaster would be inevitable, because it would be impossible to get out of Belgium without abandoning vast stores of material and losing heavy artillery and men. Nor would it be possible to stay in Belgium and Northern France, after the line was cut, because the Liège line was inadequate to supply and maintain the armies in Belgium and France.

It was the objective of the American army, advancing due north on a front between the Meuse and the Argonne, with its northern extension, the Forest of Bourgonne, to cut



THE AMERICAN ARMY'S OFFENSIVE IN THE MEUSE-ARGONNE BATTLE, WITH THE DAILY LINES OF ADVANCE, SEPTEMBER 26 TO NOVEMBER, 11, 1918

this vital railway line where it crosses the Meuse, just south of Sedan, at Bazeilles, a village memorable in the Sedan fight of 1870. Could they accomplish this, ultimate disaster of unequalled proportions would result, since the main mass of the German armies, facing the French, the British and the Belgians from Champagne to Flanders, would be deprived of adequate rearward communications.

In addition, the victory at St. Mihiel had thrown the Germans back upon the fortified area of Metz, uncovering in a measure the famous Briey iron district, on which Germany was dependent for most of her iron

for war purposes. When the American advance toward Sedan had reached a satisfactory point, it was the plan to begin pushing out, across the Meuse and down the eastern slopes of the Meuse Heights toward Briey, and a relatively slight push would bring the district under the long-range guns of the Americans and forbid its use by the Germans. Such a prohibition would insure a failure of war material almost as fatal as the destruction of German communications by the advance on the west bank of the Meuse to Sedan.

These were the geographical objectives. The effect of cutting the communications

would be to produce a mammoth Sedan; the result of dominating Briey would be to disarm the enemy. In addition, America, with reserves which were henceforth bound to be without any approximate limit, was to contribute powerfully to the general scheme of using up German reserves until, to use Grant's phrase, by attrition, if by no other means, the Germans were brought to surrender. This last might be accomplished without actual realization of either of the other specific aims. As it happened, the Americans reached Sedan, cutting the railway, would have been able with no long delay to dominate Briey, given their rate of advance up to November 11, and in addition wore out forty-six divisions, substantially a third of the total number available for the Germans in this final phase.

During the progress of the American battle the German was powerfully and successfully attacked by the British, the French and the Belgians and forced to retire out of France and away from the Belgian coast. But he could and did retire in good order, and he could afford to surrender the territory thus lost, because it did not interfere with his communications, since the communications were perpendicular to the fighting front. On the other hand, when the Americans reached Sedan, he lost his communications and the loss would have spelled supreme disaster had he not surrendered before the consequences were translated into fact.

Finally, it is well to remember that, since nowhere else could successful attack carry such great immediate peril, the German was bound to defend himself to the uttermost limit of his capacity against the Americans, just as he was bound to fortify this section with extreme care in advance of any such attack.

IV. THE BATTLEFIELD

The American field of operations constituted a fairly regular triangle, the base of which was the front between La Harazee in the Argonne and the Meuse at the mouth of the Forges Brook from which Pershing's troops advanced at "Zero Hour" on the morning of September 26. The distance between these points is something less than twenty miles in a straight line, although the actual front, curving and bending as it did, was much longer.

A second, the western, side of the triangle

was formed by the Forest of Argonne and its northern extension the Forest of Bourgogne, north of the Gap of Grandpré, where the Aire breaks through and joins the Aisne. From the intersection of the south and west sides of the triangle at La Harazee to the Meuse at Donchery, just west of Sedan, is rather more than thirty miles and the point where the western side touches the Meuse was the scene of the last and saddest phase of the Sedan tragedy of 1870. Bellevue, the château where Napoleon III. capitulated, is exactly here.

The third side of the triangle is supplied by the Meuse River, which flows northeast from the Forges Brook to Sedan. In the last days of the operation the Americans crossed the Meuse on a front of some fifteen miles from the mouth of the Forges Brook to Mouzon below Stenay and pushed eastward carrying a deadly threat to Briey, but the main theater of the struggle was between the Meuse and the Argonne.

This region had been frequently fought over. The Valmy campaign which saved France in the Wars of the Revolution was fought about the Argonne. The region about Sedan had seen the collapse of the Third Empire and the rise of Germany as a world power. In 1914 the Army of the German Crown Prince had crossed the Meuse on a front between Sedan and Stenay, after severe if brief fighting. In 1916 the Germans had made a second advance in the Argonne and the valley of the Aire, just to the east, after their retreat from the Marne, taking Varrennes, where Louis XIV was arrested in his flight from France in the Revolution.

But the most memorable fighting in the history of this war-scarred region had been the struggle for the hills south of the Forges Brook, Hill 304 and Dead Man's Hill, in the spring of 1916, during the great Battle of Verdun. Both had been taken by the Germans, but both had subsequently been retaken by the French in August, 1917, and were inside the American lines when our own battle began.

Topographically, the country was the most difficult for military operations on the whole front between the sea and the Vosges Mountains. The Argonne Forest, itself, is a long, clayey eminence, with a crest of some 800 feet above the general level of the country, ten miles wide, heavily wooded, its steep and soft sides cut and eroded by many little

brooks. Practically no good roads exist in it—none leading from south to north, the direction of the American advance. For five miles in front of the American line the woods had been swept by more than four years of artillery fire and the result was a tangle of stumps, fallen limbs and undergrowth recalling the timber-fall in a northern forest after logging operations followed by a forest fire.

This forest the Germans had organized with extreme skill. The first lines of wire were several miles deep. The most considerable concrete dug-outs on the western front were behind the first German system of defenses. In this forest both the French and the Germans had attempted offensives and abandoned them in 1915 and thenceforth the region had been a quiet sector, but during the quiet the German, as was his custom, had continued to multiply defense works.

East of the Argonne, running along the abrupt slope of its hills, is the little Aire River, flowing north, parallel to the Meuse, through a narrow, but fairly open valley, which is bordered by the single good north and south highway of the whole region. East again from the Aire, and between this river and the Meuse, begins a ten-mile stretch of country, difficult to describe but incomparable as a defensive region. Seen on a relief map it is a maze of relatively inconsiderable elevations, the highest little above a thousand feet, each of these elevations crowned by thick forest, some of the intervening valleys wooded, some of them open.

The forests in hill and valley supply perfect cover for machine-gun nests. Direct observation is impossible. Moreover, many little valleys leading eastward into the Meuse are commanded by the abrupt hills on the east bank of this stream, which were occupied by German artillery and enabled the German to keep up an enfilading fire almost to the end. While none of the hills were considerable, many of them were as great military obstacles as the famous Chemin des Dames, on which the French offensive of 1917 broke, while Vimy Ridge, famous in British annals, found many counterparts and there were other woods and hills surpassing both these famous fighting grounds.

In addition, the region was destitute of good roads, and railway communication did not exist. Between the Meuse and the val-

ley of the Aire the Americans in their first advance were forced to pass over a wide belt of country which had been shell-torn by the fighting in the Battle of Verdun. Most of this front was south of the little Forges Brook, inconsiderable in itself, but, like the Ailette north of the Chemin des Dames, transformed into an almost impenetrable marsh by shell-fire.

Two summits, memorable already in the war, the Hill of Vauquois and the eminence crowned by the town of Montfaucon, were landmarks in the whole countryside. Montfaucon rises above the general level of the country with a squat appearance recalling the conning tower of a submarine. From it the Crown Prince had watched the opening bombardment of Verdun in a wrecked house, containing a wonderful periscope, which has been transferred to America.

This village had been ruined by shell-fire, but amidst the ruins the Germans had constructed massive concrete works, which remain one of the curiosities of the battlefield. In the first phase of the battle, on September 26, Montfaucon was to the American Army a landmark recalling Montsec in the still recent St. Mihiel operation. Its capture, on the second day, was a feat that must remain memorable.

To describe the topography of the country in such fashion as to give the reader any notion of the difficulties of our troops is well-nigh impossible. Swamp, forest, hills, obstacles to tanks which rendered their usefulness incomparably less than elsewhere on the front at a moment when Allied offensive tactics depended upon the tank largely, forest screens which made aerial observation almost impossible, when the detection of machine-gun nests was the chief necessity of the hour, an absence of roads which made supplying and reinforcing a vast army an incalculable task—these were major circumstances.

But above all the forests and the hills combined to supply exactly the requirements of machine-gun warfare and the German defense rested beyond all else upon this weapon. It could calculate, and did, that the new and relatively untrained American Army would wear itself out against the machine-gun defenses until, staggered by its losses and exhausted by its efforts, it would abandon the struggle.

The supreme praise earned by our young troops was in surmounting this machine-gun obstacle and enduring losses which in many

units equalled those in the veteran regiments of the British Expeditionary Army at Ypres. In September, 1918, I do not believe any other army in Europe, Allied or German, would have undertaken and persevered in such a combat. But our troops, cheerfully and with unfailing determination, accepted the most difficult sector on the Western Front, endured appalling losses, and broke through all obstacles, not the least of which were supplied by a country, which to any visitor will instantly appear as designed for the use of the machine gun and the employment of those defensive tactics which the German had used and improved during more than four years of struggle.

V. THE GERMAN DEFENSE SYSTEM

I have already pointed out that the main German reliance was upon the machine gun. They had, however, four well-defined systems or lines of defense—the Hindenburg Line, which faced the Americans, the Hagen Line of Stellung, just behind it and so close to it as really to constitute with it a single organized defensive zone four or five miles deep, the Volker Stellung, a mile or two in the rear of the first two, and finally, not far behind, the Kriemhilde system, which was their last and strongest line.

In the Argonne the Hindenburg Line and the Hagen Line had been strengthened steadily since the German offensive was pinned down in 1914. Moreover, without entrenchments, the forest supplied cover for machine guns and constituted a barrier which could not be carried by frontal attack alone. Actually the Germans were turned out of it by the advance of American and French troops on either side. But from the Argonne hills and the hills east of the Meuse the Germans long enfiladed the divisions which had passed northward.

In these first two lines Montfaucon was the center of resistance and its ruins were filled with concrete works. These concrete works, the conspicuous detail to-day in the battle areas, were low structures, usually square with a rounding roof, made of reinforced concrete, several feet thick. Usually they were built in the midst of the debris of a fallen house, generally at a turn of the road, so that they commanded a stretch of that highway. Toward the enemy they showed only a narrow slit, several feet long

but hardly three or four inches wide, through which the machine gun fired. They were invisible from the air and usually detected on the ground only when one was within a few feet of them.

The walls were impervious to rifle bullets, to shrapnel, and to everything but a direct hit by a heavy gun, a thing almost impossible to bring off, given the smallness of the target and the difficulty in detecting it. Inside this cover three or four men, with their machine guns, could hold up a regiment indefinitely and inflict heavy losses. Frequently the walls were cut on three sides, allowing the occupants to fire upon an enemy advancing and to enfilade him as he passed. Capturing them was a hazardous task, bound to be costly unless artillery could be employed. Usually these machine-gun nests were arranged in such fashion as to work together, sweeping a large belt of territory.

At Montfaucon, as at certain other places along the Western Front, notably on the Etain road, leading from Verdun into the Woëvre Plain, the Germans had constructed great concrete posts, closely together, to protect the town against tanks. All four of their separate lines were wired, that is, covered by a wide, deep belt of heavy barbed wire, but this wire was not in the latter phases of the war as great an obstacle as it appears to the civilian.

In protective defense works the German far surpassed all of his opponents. To pass from behind the Allied lines to the rear of the German front is to recognize how infinitely superior was the protection possessed by the German soldier, how characteristically thorough was the German method. And nowhere on the whole front was his defensive protection more elaborate than in the Meuse-Argonne, covering the vital railway lines which were necessary to German existence.

Finally, and I make the point again because it is essential: Nowhere else was the country so well adapted to the use of the machine gun, which was an essential detail, the main circumstance in German defense, the weapon which had won him so many defensive victories in the past. Given the nature of the country, every hill with its crown of woods was a natural emplacement for machine guns, every thicket-filled valley an equally good cover, and all of the hills and valleys had been organized, reinforced by concrete works, wired and prepared.

VI. THE OPENING PHASE

The Battle of the Meuse-Argonne opened on the morning of September 26, after a preliminary artillery preparation of many hours, during which more ammunition was probably burned than in the whole of the Civil War. The American attack east of the Argonne was coordinated with a French attack to the west. The American front was bounded on the east by the Meuse and extended across the Argonne. These two obstacles on either flank made all maneuver impossible. The battle was of a necessity nothing but a direct frontal attack, a push on rather more than fifteen miles frontage.

The army facing the Americans, the Fifth German Army, was commanded by General Von Marwitz, who in the preceding autumn had won the Battle of Cambrai, after the preliminary British success, and in the Marne campaign of 1914 had commanded the German cavalry corps which had so long and disastrously checked the British advance south of the Marne River. It was composed of five divisions, which with artillery and other arms probably numbered sixty or seventy thousand strong. A single guard division was the only first-rate unit in line at this time.

The American army in line facing the Fifth German army consisted of nine divisions, organized as three corps. The American divisions were at this time at least four times as strong as the German and the American army which attacked must have counted in all arms close to 300,000 men—the greatest army in American history and approximately as strong as the French army which had made the Champagne offensive of 1915 and the British army which opened the Battle of the Somme in 1916.

The position of the American troops from west to east was as follows: The 77th, 28th and 35th Divisions, constituting the First Corps, were in line from La Harazee in the Argonne Forest to Vauquois on the eastern side of Aire Valley. The 91st, 37th and 79th, constituting the Fifth Corps, extended from Vauquois to the Forges Brook, just north of Hill 304, memorable in the history of the Battle of Verdun. Finally, the 4th, 80th and 33rd Divisions held the right flank to the left bank of the Meuse.

In the American plan of battle it was expected that the three corps pushing north would break through the first three of the

four German defense systems and by September 27 arrive before the final or Kriemhilde Line. The First Corps was to reach Apremont on the west bank and Exermont on the east side of the Aire. The Fifth Corps was to pass through Montfaucon and arrive at Romagne and Cunel. Finally, the Third Corps was to cover the flank of the general advance to the east, along the Meuse River with the 80th and 33rd Divisions, and the Fourth Division was to take Briailles. Having thus cleaned up all but the Kriemhilde Line, the Americans were to make a brief halt and then push forward through this last obstacle to the Meuse at Sedan.

In the general scheme no real objectives were fixed for the troops in the Argonne, where it was recognized that the obstacles were such as to make direct progress next to impossible. But in a general way the First Corps was to drive down the valley of the Aire, on either bank, the Fifth was to push north through indescribably difficult country, breaking the center of the German defense systems, while the Third Corps was to guard the flank.

American plans called for a complete break-through of the German defense systems and a forward push of approximately ten miles. The program was ambitious beyond words. It called upon the American troops to accomplish something that had not yet been achieved against the Germans, occupying positions, long prepared; the British had made such a penetration through German lines hastily constructed to cover their great gains in the March victory in Picardy.

The American attack was not a surprise. Marwitz in an order dated September 15 had warned his troops of what was coming and told them the American objectives were the Longuyon-Sedan Railway and the Brier Iron District. Such surprise as the German suffered must have come from the intensity of the artillery preparation. The result of this preparation was shown in the fact that the initial advance in places exceeded seven miles, and nowhere fell short of three.

Despite this great success, it was almost immediately discovered that the greater hopes could not be realized. None of the main objectives were reached, chiefly because of the difficulty of supplying the troops, a difficulty due to the paucity and poorness of the roads, but in some small degree due to the fact that the American Army was making its first considerable effort.

But if the advance fell short of the extreme objectives, it was still the most considerable the Allies had yet made against the German fixed defense systems. It exceeded the British achievement in the first phase of the Battle of Cambrai the previous year, hitherto the maximum, and unlike Cambrai, the first gains were not lost in the American battle. On September 26 Montfaucon was not taken, but it was encircled and fell the next day. The First Corps passed through Varennes and reached the edge of Baulny. It actually took Apremont, its extreme objective, two days later. The Fifth Corps on the same day reached Nantillois and the outskirts of Cierges—a name recalling bitter but glorious memories of the Aisne-Marne fighting, two months earlier, while the Fourth Division of the Third Corps approached but could not take Briuelles on the Meuse, owing to the cross-fire from the east bank of that stream.

Thereafter, until October 4, the fighting died down. There was the usual consolidation of gains, preparation for a new attack, and relief of various divisions. In this phase the Hindenburg Line had been broken on a twenty-mile front, the Hagen line behind it had been equally smashed, the third line had been reached and breached, eight thousand prisoners, more than a hundred cannon and an infinite amount of material had been captured, and the seven-mile advance between the Meuse and the Aire, that is, over two-thirds of the active front, was something not before achieved, to be compared, with certain reservations, with an average gain of less than a mile made by the British Army in its first great battle—that is, the new British Army—at the Somme, in July, 1916.

As to the conduct of the several divisions, I shall make no comment, beyond pointing out that all, save the Fourth, were militia or new army units and only two, the 4th and the 28th, had had previous battle experience, in both cases under French command. The veteran divisions, the First and Second, the 26th and 42d, for example, had not yet been engaged. The 77th, which fought in the Argonne, had participated briefly, in the final phase of the Aisne-Marne, but relatively slightly.

On the German side, three new divisions were used to check the American advance. If the American General Staff had exaggerated the possibilities of victory, the German had terribly misjudged the situation

and had paid for it by a humiliating defeat and the loss of defense systems on which he had expended years of effort. What was worse, from the German standpoint, the Americans had covered at least a quarter of the distance to the vital railroad line.

VII. THE SECOND PHASE

On October 4 the American Army resumed its attack on the whole front and the struggle which followed lasted the rest of the month. Substantially the battle was the slow but sure erosion of the Kriemhilde Line, the destruction of the power of resistance of the Fifth German Army, the preparation for that final phase, the March to Victory, which began on November 1 and had not ended ten days later, when the Armistice stopped the campaign.

When this second phase began the Germans were holding a line which extended from the Argonne forest, just north of Apremont, to the Meuse at Briuelles. Their chief centers of resistance were hills east and west of Grandpré, where the Aire divides the Argonne from the Forest of Bourgogne—hills which looked up the Aire Valley through which the First Corps was advancing and were covered in front for several miles by the Aire itself, which bends westward. On the west bank of the Aire, in the Argonne, their front extended southward in a deep salient and they were able to enfilade the American troops in the valley from the wooded hills, notably those about Chatel Chehéry.

To the eastward, between the Aire Valley and the Meuse, the Germans occupied an intricate system of hills, woods and villages extending through St. Juvin on the Aire, Landres et-St. George, Bantheville, and reaching the Meuse just south of the rocky cliff from which the upper town of Dunsur-Meuse dominates the surrounding country. Holding the Bois de Chatillon, just opposite Briuelles on the east bank of the Meuse, the Germans were able to deliver a murderous cross fire upon the American troops advancing between Cunel and Briuelles, across the narrow valley which connects these two towns.

In the second phase new divisions began to appear. The veteran First replaced the 35th, which had experienced a set back near Apremont and had been withdrawn. The 32nd, which had done so well at Juvigny,

took over from the 37th, and the Third, which had won glory at Château-Thierry both in June and in July, replaced the 79th.

The first day of the second phase was, on the whole, a failure. The total advance was less than a kilometer, barely a half-mile, against seven miles at certain points in the earlier phase. The resistance of the Germans in the wooded hills in the center—Bois des Rappes, des Ognons, Cote de Chatillon—was desperate in the extreme, while the enfilading fire from the Argonne Heights held up the advance in the Aire Valley. On the third day, October 6, the 28th Division, which had been facing north, turned west, forded the narrow but deep Aire, and carried the heights back of Chatel Chehéry in one of the most brilliant dashes of the whole struggle. Seen from the Aire Valley, near Fleville, these Argonne heights recall the Palisades of the Hudson. The result of this operation was the collapse of the Argonne salient and four days later the 77th, still fighting in the Argonne, emerged from the forest at the northern end facing Grandpré, beyond the Aire. Eight days before, some companies of two battalions of one brigade of the 77th division—seven companies in all—had been temporarily isolated near the Moulin de Charlevaux and under Major Whittlesey won enduring fame as "the lost battalion."

The success west of the Aire abolished one of the sources of crippling cross-fire. There remained the even more serious menace coming from the east bank of the Meuse, on the wooded heights above Brieuilles, in the bend of the river. To clear this flank a joint Franco-American operation was necessary. Two French divisions, together with the American 29th, pushed north from the lines occupied by the French, following their successes about Verdun in 1916 and 1917, while on October 9, the 33rd Division, west of the Meuse, crossed the river and joined in the operation. The crossing of the considerable and deep river, paralleled by a canal, was one of the brilliant feats of the war. But despite great efforts the operations of the east bank of the Meuse did not relieve the situation for the main forces across the river, until the real decision had been had.

All through October the fight went on. Obscure woodlands, insignificant hills and unknown villages, reduced to a heap of stones and ashes, were the scenes of a bitter and gruelling contest. The Bois des Loges,

just east of Grandpré, looking up the Aire Valley, was taken, lost and retaken many times by the 78th Division. October 14 was a third day of general attack between the Meuse and the Aire, in which the region about Romagne and Bantheville, with the wooded hills of the district, were fiercely fought for. Romagne, memorable hereafter as the site of the great national cemetery, where nearly 30,000 American troops fallen in the Meuse-Argonne struggle are buried, was finally taken on this day.

By October 20 the offensive period of the second phase was over. The American army was out of the Argonne, north of the Aire. It held Grandpré. The fifth attack on the Bois des Rappes had finally led to final occupation. St. Juvin had been taken. The western end of the Kriemhilde line was thus gone, the center was breached at points, but still clung to the wooded area about Bantheville, but on the eastern end, near the Meuse, the supporting fire from the eastern bank enabled the German to maintain a precarious hold on Brieuilles and control of the Meuse valley roads on either bank. Meantime in addition to the units already mentioned, the 78th, 82nd, 42nd, 5th and 90th divisions had appeared and the 5th, fighting in the center, had suffered terrific losses. The 42nd had encountered the Third Prussian Guard near Landres-et-St. George on the Cote de Chatillon, and on October 14 practically annihilated it, suffering heavy losses itself. The 78th, fighting at Talma and Belle Joyeuse Farms east and west of Grandpré and the Bois des Loges, had succeeded after contests which were desperate in the extreme. The Bois des Loges episode was one of the most notable in the battle.

VIII. THE FINAL PHASE

On November 1 the German Army had been fought to a standstill. It still held a portion of the Kriemhilde Line, midway between the Meuse and the Aire, but the power for resistance had gone. West and east of the Meuse and mainly on the west, he had used 46 divisions. Thirteen of these had been used twice and two three times. These had faced twenty-two American divisions and four French. Eleven of our divisions had been used twice and one three times. But each American division was probably four times as strong as the German division, while the French were at least equal. Thus one

may reckon that on the basis of the German strength, the odds were 92 to 46, or two to one. Given the strength of the German positions and the fact that the Germans were fighting defensively, the odds were not impressive.

The attack of November 1 was delivered by the following corps, in line from west to east: The 79th, 78th, 80th, 2nd, 89th, 5th, while the 90th was used the following day between the 89th and 5th. Like the first attack on September 26 this last offensive began at 5:30 A. M., this time after two hours of artillery preparation. The result of the attack was the immediate collapse of the whole German line between the Meuse and the Forest of Bourgogne, the extension of the Argonne north of the Aire. By the close of the day the 2nd and 89th divisions, in the center, were five miles through the Kriemhilde line and approaching the Stenay-Buzancy road, while on the next day the 80th and 77th passed on either side of Buzancy.

Thenceforth the battle was a pursuit race. West of the Meuse the German fled back to Sedan, opposite which town elements of the 42nd appeared on November 7. Officially it was the French who first entered the town, but the citizens of Sedan testify that the first Allied troops whom they saw belonged to the "Rainbow" Division. Thus the Sedan-Longuyon railway was cut and the main objective of the American operation achieved.

In the same period there had been a general crossing of the Meuse from the Forges Brook northward. Stenay had fallen to the 90th Division on the morning of the armistice, with the headquarters of the German Crown Prince, just north of the town, the headquarters from which he directed the great battle of Verdun. The Fifth Division passed through Louppy on the tiny Loison and seized the last headquarters of Marwitz in the Meuse-Argonne battle on Armistice day and from the road above Louppy could see the towers of Montmedy in the distance—the last semblance of a barrier between them and the Belgian frontier.

Still to southward, the 32nd was across the Loison, also above the northern end of the Meuse Heights, facing toward Briey. So was the 79th, a little more to south, while the 26th was fighting toward the famous Twin Hills of Ornes, from which the Kaiser had watched the Verdun battle and beneath which in the Great Forest of Spincourt, the Germans had massed their batteries for the

opening phase of the same struggle. All the way from the fortified area of Metz northward the German was staggering backward.

His army, Marwitz's Fifth Army, was not routed. It had not lost its organization. It was still fighting back, holding up the advance with machine-gun fire. But it had been evicted from every fixed line of defense. It had no positions, no more concrete works, no more lines of trenches and wires, although I saw many in the first stages of construction west of Longuyon. But, if it was not routed, much less destroyed, the German Army was not only beaten, but in the last days there were signs of demoralization unusual even in temporarily shaken German forces.

IX. THE ACHIEVEMENT

It remains to sum up briefly the achievement. The American Army which fought in the Battle of the Meuse-Argonne was, roughly speaking, in the same stage of development as the British Army which fought the First Battle of the Somme. It was an army passing from apprenticeship to actual warfare, but save for a few officers and a handful of divisions, without battle training.

In a battle of a little more than five weeks' duration, from September 26 to November 1, the American First Army broke through four complete systems of defense, covering a depth of above ten miles, and on the latter date was moving forward in a wild dash, which only terminated with the end of hostilities themselves. In that time we engaged 22 American divisions, between 600,000 and 700,000 men, lost rather more than 100,000 in casualties, and took 16,000 prisoners, 468 guns, 2664 machine guns, 177 trench mortars. We made a maximum advance in 47 days of 34 miles, liberated 1550 square kilometres of French soil and 150 villages.

The battle was fought under conditions recalling the Battle of the Wilderness in the Civil War, but that struggle lasted only three days, while the main contest in the Meuse-Argonne endured for 36. We opened the battle with 3928 cannon in line and we fired, with the French 3,408,000 rounds, several times the consumption of ammunition in the Civil War. On the enemy we inflicted a loss which was at first estimated to approximate 100,000, but experienced American officers now inform me that they believe these estimates were exaggerated and that the ene-

my's loss outside of prisoners would but little exceed 50,000, which would mean a total loss in killed, wounded and captured of approximately 70,000.

The heaviest loss by any American division was that of the 1st, which was just under 7500—a little more than 25 per cent. The 3rd lost almost as many, 7451 against 7467. The 32nd lost 6912 and the 82nd 5947. The 77th, 35th, 80th, 5th and 78th lost above 5000 each, the 4th and 29th over 4000. American troops were materially aided by French aviation, although much good work was done by Americans.

The American victory has been widely discussed in America and emphasis laid on many details which seem to me inaccurate. It is essential to recognize the facts about our army to measure its real achievement. Neither the men nor their officers were trained as the French and the British, or as the Germans. We were at the beginning. We disclosed no marvelous mastery of modern warfare and no inspired leadership in the high command. This was well-nigh impossible. We paid very heavily in casualties for our lack of experience and our transport did not compare with that of the older armies.

What we accomplished was, however, the more wonderful, given our circumstances. The spirit of our troops was incomparably better than those of any other army in Europe. Our men were neither tired nor affected by the failures of other campaigns. They went where no other troops on the Continent would have gone. They kept going under losses which veteran French or British divisions could no longer endure.

The actual fruits of the American victory were never disclosed because the German surrendered before they could be harvested. But had the German not surrendered he would have been confronted with a terrible crisis since he would have been compelled to bring all his troops out of Belgium by the single line remaining—that through Liège.

We attacked the German where he was strongest, in positions where his necessity to hold was greatest. We broke his lines, defeated one of his most distinguished generals, occupied his principal line of communications for all his western armies, and were "going strong" when the end came. We made courage and determination do for much training.

I have been asked since I came home if the American sacrifice was necessary. I do

not know who is responsible for the cruel legend that the victory was certain had we not made our campaign, but I do know that it has served to increase the grief of those whose relatives died in the Meuse-Argonne. The truth is plain: But for our attack the German would have been able to prolong resistance until the weather turned bad and then escape defeat by negotiations, since all his enemies, save ourselves, were as tired as he was. Or, failing this probable outcome, he would have had a winter to reorganize his armies, behind new lines.

When the fighting ended we had 1,200,000 combatant troops in France, two-thirds, at least, battle-trained. We held more line than the British and we had more troops on our line than did they. At Cantigny and Château-Thierry, with the Belleau Woods accompaniment, we made our beginning, modest but useful. In the Aisne-Marne, we gave Foch the weight for his first counter-offensive, which wholly changed the general situation. At St. Mihiel in the first all-American "show," we dealt a staggering blow and at the Meuse-Argonne we did all that anyone could ask and more than anyone could hope or justly expect. What we still lacked in science, we largely made up in sheer dogged fighting spirit and that sublime confidence, never shaken, that nothing that lived could face America, out for battle.

Whether Pershing would have developed into a great military genius or remained only an effective commander is a matter for conjecture. But the fact is still clear that he understood the possibilities of his men, trusted them, fought our Allies for the chance to show what an American army could accomplish, where it organized, carried his point, and "made good" in his subsequent operations against the German. The army which won the Meuse-Argonne was his, and it fought under his command in the decisive periods. He built the army, fought it, led it to victory and after victory, held it ready to deliver new blows, if the war were resumed. His praise and that of his soldiers is identical. It is written in the Meuse-Argonne and will be read by millions of Americans in future years, who ride, as I did recently, over all the field of battle and see what men lately from the plough and the factory accomplished against troops and officers who had profited by the national training of half a century and by the actual experience of four years of tremendous conflict.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT WORKS WITH THE FARMER

BY HON. DAVID F. HOUSTON

(Secretary of Agriculture)

[By far the greatest of the nation's industries is the cultivation of the soil. For six years and a half the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. David F. Houston, has been in a better position than any other man to survey the progress of American farming in all its aspects and relations. Dr. Houston came to the Department with unusual fitness and he has rendered service directly to the farmers, and through them to the country, that cannot well be overestimated. The survey he contributes herewith to this number of the REVIEW is based upon a great range of information and rests upon a basis of solid judgment.—THE EDITOR]

IN the field of agriculture there is much to be done. This fundamental part of the Nation's industrial life will not stand still. Constructive action must, of necessity, continue, and there will be need of very clear and unbiased thinking. In this, as in all times of great change and movement, there is no little confusion and no little apprehension and misapprehension. We shall have our troubles. We shall be confronted with numerous proposals from the enthusiast with limited knowledge and less sense of direction. The tasks confronting us in agriculture are tasks not of reconstruction but rather of further construction, of selection, and emphasis. I am confident that the agriculture of the Nation is on substantially sound foundations and is developing in the right direction. Many experienced and disciplined minds and agencies in all parts of the country have zealously been studying the problems for many years, with increasing effectiveness during the last generation, and it will surprise me if many novel steps of large proportion are not taken.

Farming Must Pay!

Farming, of course, must pay. There always will be farmers enough if the business of farming is made profitable and if the conditions of farm life are made attractive and healthful. The farmer, as well as the industrial worker, is entitled to a living wage and a reasonable profit on the investment. He is entitled also to satisfactory educational opportunities for his children and to the benefits of modern medical science and sanitation. It is not the mission of the farmers simply to supply food to the consumer at prices which the latter desire to pay. This is not the test.

It is no more the duty of the farmers to supply food on an unprofitable basis than it would be for the manufacturer to supply manufactured articles on an unprofitable basis. Each should want the other industry to prosper and the producers of all commodities to receive a fair price for what they produce.

The Question of Prices

It has been argued lately by otherwise intelligent business men that the price of farm products must come down before the cost of manufactured articles can be reduced. Nothing could be more unfair or more unsound economically. The costs of farm production are determined in large part by the prices of manufactured articles which the farmer has to buy. The turn-over of the manufacturer is a frequent one, whereas farmers, as a rule, have only an annual turn-over. Yet the farmer is being told, in effect, to go ahead and increase his production, paying the present high prices for all the things he requires to make his crop, and that a year from now he can market his produce at a greatly reduced level of prices. Obviously, manufacturers must be willing to make at least a contemporaneous decrease in their prices. It might even be contended that they should make a prior decrease, since the farmer's operations involve a year and he can not recoup for twelve months, or can not recoup at all, because, on the theory put forth, his products would fall in price.

Of course, everything possible is being done to enable the farmer to produce more economically, so that if prices do fall he will not sustain a loss, or so great a loss. All the efforts of the Department of Agriculture and

of the land-grant colleges have this aim. They are trying to bring about better methods of cultivation, better financing, better marketing, the elimination of plant and animal diseases and insect pests, and the better utilization of labor. Much has been done in this direction, and much more will be done as time passes.

Land Settlement

Interest in land for homes and farms increases in the Nation as the population grows. It has become more marked as the area of public land suitable and available for agriculture has diminished. It is intensified at the present time by reason of the suggestion and desire that returned soldiers and others who may wish to secure farms shall have an opportunity to do so under suitable conditions. It finds expression, too, in discussions of the number of tenant farmers and in its meaning and significance.

That there is still room in the Nation for many more people on farms is clear. The United States proper contains about 1,900,000,000 acres of land, of which an area of 1,140,000,000 acres, or 60 per cent., is tillable. Approximately 367,000,000 acres, or 32 per cent., of this was planted in crops in 1918. In other words, for every 100 acres now tilled 300 acres may be utilized when the country is fully settled. Of course, much of the best land, especially that most easily brought under cultivation and in reasonably easy reach of large consuming centers, is in use, though much of it, possibly 85 per cent., is not yielding full returns. Extension of the farmed area will consequently be made with greater expense for clearing, preparation, drainage, and irrigation, and for profitable operation will involve marketing arrangements of a high degree of perfection and the discriminating selection of crops having a relatively high unit value.

Our Growth in Population

To a certain extent, we are still pioneering the continent, agriculturally and otherwise, and are still exporters of food, feedstuffs, and materials for clothing. With wise foresight and increased employment of scientific practice, under the stimulation of intelligent agencies, we can take care of and provide for a very much larger population under even more favorable circumstances and in greater prosperity. This is the task to which the Nation has set itself and indicates the responsibility resting upon each individual,

and especially upon the farming population and State and Federal agencies responsible for leadership. We have, up to the present, succeeded in this enterprise. In the years from 1900 to 1915 the Nation gained a population of approximately 22,000,000, and they have been fed and clothed in large measure from domestic sources. It is estimated that in the years from 1915 to 1918 the population increased by 3,200,000, of which a very small part was from immigration. We shall, perhaps, gain as many more in the next fifteen or twenty years, even if the rate of immigration should not be maintained, for the natural growth in recent years, averaging about three-fourths of a million a year, shows an upward tendency.

It would be desirable to facilitate land settlement in more orderly fashion. This can be effected in a measure by systematic effort on the part of the Federal Government, the States, and the several communities through appropriate agencies to furnish more reliable information, intelligent guidance, and well-considered settlement plans. The Nation has suffered not a little from irresponsible and haphazard private direction of settlement. In many sections, especially in the newer and more rapidly developing ones, the situation has been complicated by the activities of promoters whose main concern was to dispose of their properties. They too frequently succeeded in attracting farmers to localities remote from markets where they either failed to produce crops or met with disaster through lack of market outlets or adequate marketing arrangements.

Ownership to Be Encouraged

It is particularly vital that, by every feasible means, the processes of acquiring ownership of farms be encouraged and hastened. This process is real in spite of appearances to the contrary. It has been too generally assumed and represented that tenancy has increased at the expense of ownership and that we are witnessing agricultural deterioration in this direction. Tenancy does present aspects which should cause great concern, but its bright sides have not been sufficiently considered. The situation does not warrant a pessimistic conclusion. In the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 the number of farms in the United States increased from 4,009,000 to 6,362,000, the number of those owned from 2,984,000 to 4,007,000, a gain of 1,023,000, or 34.3 per cent., and the number oper-

ated by tenants from 1,025,000 to 2,355,000, a gain of 1,330,000 or 129.9 per cent. But in 1910 five-eighths of the farms and 68 per cent. of the acreage of all land in farms were operated by owners and 65 per cent. of the improved land. The number of farms increased faster than the agricultural population. The only class not operating farms who could take them up were the younger men, and it is largely from them that the class of tenants has been recruited.

In a recent study of the cases of 9000 farmers, mainly in the Middle Western States lying in the Mississippi Valley, it was found that more than 90 per cent. were brought up on farms; that 31½ per cent. remained on their father's farms until they became owners and 27 per cent. until they became tenants, then owners; that 13½ per cent. passed from wage-earners to ownership, skipping the tenant stage; and that 18 per cent. were first farm boys, then wage-earners, later tenants, and finally owners. It is stated, on the basis of census statistics, that 76 per cent. of the farmers under twenty-five years of age are tenants, while the percentage falls with age, so that among those fifty-five years old and above only 20 per cent. are tenants. In the older sections of the country (except in the South, which has a large negro population), that is, in the New England and Middle Atlantic States, the tenant farmers formed a smaller proportion in 1910 than in 1900. This is also the case with the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Divisions, where there has been a relative abundance of lands. The conditions on the whole, therefore, are not in the direction of deterioration but of improvement. The process has been one of emergence of wage laborers and sons of farmers first to tenancy and then to ownership.

New Legislation

The last six years have been especially fruitful of legislation and of its practical application for the betterment of agriculture. Special provision was made for the solution of problems in behalf of agriculture, embracing marketing and rural finance. The Bureau of Markets, unique of its kind and excelling in range of activities and in financial support any other similar existing organization, was created and is rendering effective service in a great number of directions. Standards for staple agricultural products were provided for and have been announced

and applied under the terms of the cotton-futures and grain-standards acts. Authority to license bonded warehouses which handle certain agricultural products was given to the Department, and the indications are that, with the return of normal conditions the operation of the act will result in the better storing of farm products, the stabilization of marketing processes, and the issuance of more easily negotiable warehouse receipts. The agricultural extension machinery, the greatest educational system ever devised for men and women engaged in their daily tasks, had very large and striking development. The Federal aid road act, approved shortly before this country entered the war, resulted in legislation for more satisfactory central highway agencies in many States and the systematic planning of road systems throughout the Union. To-day each State has a highway authority, with the requisite power and with adequate funds to meet the requirements of the Federal measure.

A Farmers' Banking System

The Federal reserve act, which has benefited every citizen through its influence on banking throughout the Union, included provisions especially designed to assist the farming population. It authorized national banks to lend money on farm mortgages and recognized the peculiar needs of the farmer by giving his paper a maturity period of six months. This was followed by the Federal farm loan act, which created a banking system reaching intimately into the rural districts and operating on terms suited to the farm owners' needs. This system began operations under the troubled conditions of the world war, and its activities were impeded by the vast changes incident to the entry of this country into the conflict. But, in spite of these difficulties, it has made remarkable headway, and there is little doubt that, after the return of peace, its development will be rapid and will more than fill the expectations of the people.

The operation of the farm-loan system, through arrangements by which those who have sold lands take a second mortgage subordinate to the first mortgage of the farmland banks, carrying a relatively low rate of interest, will have a beneficial influence. If further developments can be made through the application of the principle of coöperation, especially in the formation of personal-credit unions, the conditions will be more

favorable. In the meantime special attention and study should be given to the terms of tenancy, including the lease contract, with a view to increase the interest both of the landlord and of the tenant in soil improvement and to make sure that there is an equitable division of the income.

Personal Credits

It still seems clear that there should be provided a system of personal-credit unions, especially for the benefit of individuals whose financial circumstances and scale of operations make it difficult for them to secure accommodations through the ordinary channels. Organized commercial banks make short-term loans of a great aggregate volume to the farmers of the Nation possessing the requisite individual credit, but there are many farmers who, because of their circumstances, are prevented from securing the accommodations they need.

An investigation by the Department to determine the extent to which farmers in the Southern States were dependent upon credit obtained from merchants revealed the fact that 60 per cent. of them were operating under the "advancing system." The men I have especially in mind are those whose operations are on a small scale and who are not in most cases intimately in touch with banking machinery, who know too little about financial operations, and whose cases usually do not receive the affirmative attention and sympathy of the banker. Such farmers would be much benefited by membership in coöperative credit associations or unions.

Of course, there are still other farmers whose standards of living and productive ability are low, who usually cultivate the less satisfactory lands, who might not be received for the present into such associations. This class peculiarly excites interest and sympathy, but it is difficult to see how any concrete financial arrangement will reach it immediately. The great things that can be done for this element of our farming population are the things that agricultural agencies are doing for all classes but must do for it with peculiar zeal. The approach to the solution of its difficulty is an educational one, involving better farming, marketing, schools, health arrangements, and more sympathetic aid from the merchant and the banker. If the business men of the towns and cities primarily dependent on the rural

districts realize that the salvation of their communities depends on the development of the back country and will give their organizing ability to the solution of the problem in support of the plans of the organized agricultural agencies responsible for leadership, much headway will be made.

The foundation for effective work in this direction is the successful promotion of coöperative associations among farmers, not only for better finance but also for better production, distribution and higher living conditions. These activities are of primary importance. At the same time, it is recognized that such coöperation can not be forced upon a community, but must be a growth resulting from the volunteer, intelligent effort of the farmers themselves.

The Department has steadily labored especially to promote this movement by conducting educational and demonstrational work. Field agents in marketing have been placed in some of the States to give it special attention, and the county agents and other extension workers have rendered, and will continue to render, valuable assistance. The operations of the Farm Loan Board, especially in promoting the creation of its farm-loan associations, should be influential and highly beneficial.

The Department, with its existing forces and available funds, will continue to foster the coöperative movement and to keep in close touch with the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Marketing and Distribution

Difficult as are the problems of production, they are relatively simple compared with those of distribution. Only within recent years have agencies been created by the Federal and some of the State governments to assist in the marketing of farm products. Six years ago the present Bureau of Markets began its work as a small office with a very limited appropriation, and it has been carefully investigating the important marketing problems, expanding its field services, administering regulatory laws intended to correct abuses, and encouraging coöperative enterprises. It has been dealing with the many important questions involved in the standardization of production, the proper handling and packing of farm products, the use of standard containers, proper storage on farms, in transit, and at marketing centers, and the stimulation of the formation of farmers' co-

operative selling and purchasing agencies. It has assisted in the preparation and installation of accounting systems for, and has rendered active service to farmers in promoting, cooperative enterprises. It has furnished suggestions for State legislation governing cooperative organizations, and, in conjunction with the State authorities, it employs trained men to advise extension workers, including the country agents, with reference to the marketing of their products and market organization problems. It conducts an inspection service on fruits and vegetables at 163 important central markets.

A Market News Service

It has in operation a nation-wide market news service which gives to producers information regarding conditions in the markets they can and should reach and to consumers information relative to current supplies and prices. In cooperation with a number of States, it issues exchange marketing lists periodically which make known to county agents, breeders, and feeders where surpluses of live stock, feed, and seeds are to be found. It enforces four important regulatory measures, namely, the grain standards, the cotton futures, the standard basket, and the United States warehouse acts, which were enacted to correct abuses and to enable the farmer to sell his products more nearly for what they actually are.

While the Bureau is already dealing with most of the larger problems involved in the distribution of agricultural commodities, its activities could be profitably expanded in many directions. It would be desirable, for instance, for it to have in each State one or more trained men working in cooperation with the State authorities to stimulate cooperative enterprises and to aid farmers in solving their marketing difficulties. The Market News Service could be extended with great advantage if the requisite funds were provided; and further work should be done in the matter of establishing standards. Three bills already have been introduced in Congress looking towards the establishment of standards for fruits and vegetables, feeds, and cotton; and bills are now before the Congress for the supervision of the packing plants and stockyards, as well as for the regulation of cold storage. All these things would aid, directly or indirectly, in promoting the more systematic and orderly marketing of farm products.

Highway Development

It is unnecessary to emphasize the vital importance of good roads both to urban and rural communities. In rural communities they are a prerequisite for effective agricultural production and marketing, for good schools, and for an attractive country life. During the war it was necessary to curtail road-construction operations, because of the difficulties of securing transportation, materials, and the requisite services. After the signing of the armistice, the work was actively resumed and vigorously prosecuted notwithstanding the fact that conditions were, and still are, abnormal in some respects, especially with reference to the prices of materials and supplies. It is not believed that the people of the Nation can wait for prices to recede before industrial operations are begun. Such hesitation will add to the difficulties instead of lightening them.

The Congress at its last session, accepting the recommendations of the Department of Agriculture, not only made available from the Federal Treasury large sums, aggregating \$209,000,000, in addition to the original appropriation of \$85,000,000 in the Federal Aid Road Act, for road construction in cooperation with the States, but also made some important amendments to the Road Act. These amendments have had the effect of greatly lessening the difficulties of selecting and constructing needed roads. The 1919 program for Federal aid road building is greater than any previous annual road-building accomplishments in this country. It is so great, in fact, that some of the States will undoubtedly defer taking up part of the Federal funds until 1920, because of the necessity of developing experienced contracting and engineering organizations from the stagnant conditions of the war period.

The Federal Aid Road Act, as amended, places only three limitations on the type of road to be constructed, as follows: The road must be substantial in character, it must be a "public road a major portion of which is now used, or can be used, or forms a connecting link not to exceed ten miles in length of any road or roads now or hereafter used for the transportation of the United States mails," and the amount contributed from the Federal Treasury for its construction must not exceed 50 per cent. of the cost, or, in any event, \$20,000 a mile. Under the terms of the amended act, there-

fore, there are few important roads which will be debarred from receiving Federal aid.

It will thus be seen that a broad and comprehensive road-building program has been inaugurated. This program is being vigorously pushed, and the indications are that a larger volume of highway construction will have been accomplished this season than in any previous year in the history of the Nation. Furthermore, the work is being done in such a way as to utilize to the best advantage the road-building experience and facilities of the whole country.

The purpose of the Federal Aid Road Law is to encourage the construction of roads of a substantial nature by the States and to provide adequate safeguards for securing systematic and economical action. Long experience has shown that the best results will be secured if the work is performed under the supervision of the State highway departments, the method of the control depending upon local conditions. The greater the administrative and technical ability of these departments, the greater will be their usefulness to the taxpayers of the State. Under the Federal law, the State highway departments have been strengthened and developed in a way that could not be equalled under any other type of national road legislation that has been suggested. The progress that has been made in this direction is very gratifying and helpful.

By devoting all its energy to helping each State inaugurate the work as quickly and as extensively as possible, the Department of Agriculture multiplies its resources forty-eight times, and is a coöperator instead of a competitor in placing men and materials on the highways where they are most needed. The Department is maintaining the closest possible touch with the State highway departments, and, at its request, the American Association of State highway officials has designated some of its members to serve on an advisory committee to coöperate with the department in the administration and execution of the provisions of the Federal Aid Act.

Federal Feed and Fertilizer Laws

At present, in order to secure for the public the benefits of the provisions of the Federal Food and Drugs Act with reference to animal feeds, it is necessary to rely on the appropriate statutes of the different States. These are not uniform, and there are a few

States which have no laws that can be invoked. It is believed that it would be wise to have a comprehensive Federal feed law placed upon the statute books, under which the Government could proceed in a uniform manner and secure to consumers adequate protection against misbranded, adulterated, and worthless feeds entering into interstate commerce. It is probable also that similar legislation would be feasible and valuable with reference to fertilizers passing into interstate commerce. It is obvious, of course, that if such laws could be enacted they should result in the protection not only of the consumer but also of the honest manufacturer and distributor.

Food Production for 1920

It is difficult to say what the world food situation will be at the end of the next harvest season in the fall of 1920 and what will be the course of prices for farm products. For the next twelve months the world will subsist, in large measure, on food products already produced. What the program of production should be for this fall and next spring has received earnest consideration at the hands of the Department and other agricultural agencies. The Department has already issued a circular containing suggestions regarding the fall sown crops, together with general notes on the live stock situation, and similar suggestions for the spring operations will be made at the proper time. It seems not unlikely that, when the world crops planted this fall and next spring have been harvested, most of the nations of the world may be in a fairly normal condition as regards food supplies. The consensus of opinion, so far as the production program of this nation is concerned, is that it would be wise for the farmers to return to the normal as promptly as possible and to resume operations best suited to their particular conditions, realizing that the present crisis calls for the fullest measure of economical production and for the practice of thrift. In their tasks for the future, as in the past, they will have at their disposal and for their aid the services of the Federal and State departments of agriculture and of the great State land grant colleges—agencies which in the aggregate, as regards numbers of personnel, activities, and financial support, exceed those of any three nations in the world combined.

UNCLE SAM, UNDERWRITER

BY WILLIAM B. SHAW

TWO years and a half ago America gave the world the spectacle of an unmilitary democracy girding itself for a tremendous war effort. The nation was not at once fully conscious of all that was implied in its assertion of power. It groped for a time before it struck out; but when the moment came to deliver its blow it was prepared to hit hard. For most of us it was difficult to think of our country as one of the world's warring powers. Its traditions had been wholly different from those of Europe. Yet we found a way, through the conscription law, to apply democratic principles in the business of making war, with a degree of thoroughness and consistency never before attained in our history as a people. So our man-power was concentrated on the task in hand—not with complete efficiency, not without serious waste here and there, but on the whole with a success that surprised the world and surprised ourselves.

When the United States created for the first time in its history a truly national army and sent that army across the ocean to fight, new duties and obligations were assumed. Some of these were not at once perceived, some were gradually developed, remaining for many months unrecognized by Congress

or the executive power, but for the most part the people and the government alike saw from the beginning that the nation was undertaking a job that was different in kind as well as in size from anything that we had tried to do in the past. It was clear that nothing in our national experience could help materially in shaping policies to meet the new emergency. Whatever our preconceptions may have been, we had now come to a situation that called for a workable, intelligible program to deal with a set of problems wholly unfamiliar in their scope and implications.

The Pension System Found Wanting

In its relations with the individual soldier and sailor, the Government at Washington might have followed the lines of least resistance from the start. Provision for the service man's family might have been left to the States and to private philanthropy. The care of dependents in the event of death or disability might have been committed (following Civil War precedent) to the future determination of Congress. Thanks to the foresight and imagination of a small group of men, without and within the lawmaking body, the federal government early assumed full responsibility in these matters and provided for them in definite and practical ways.

Half a century ago the pension system may have commended itself to patriots. In the retrospect it retains the approval of no one who has candidly examined its workings. Had anything like the Civil War pension policy been applied in the present emergency, the country could not have hoped to escape enormous waste of funds and grave scandals of administration, besides the perpetuation of gross inequalities and various forms of injustice that for fifty years have been a national reproach. Whatever may be said of the practical wisdom that originated the War Risk legislation of 1917, this at least must be admitted: The boys of our volunteer and draft armies were not to be abandoned to the hazards of hit-or-miss pension laws to be enacted at some future time and to serve perhaps for another generation as the foot-balls of party politics.



THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF WAR RISK INSURANCE

Society's Interest

Now it is quite possible that in the onrush of big military activities and unfamiliar experiences that marked our entry into the war and made the years 1917-18 red-letter years in American history even well-informed citizens may have failed to catch the full meaning of the nation's new departure in its dealings with the service man. That it was distinctly a new departure there can be no doubt. The bill that became a law just six months after our declaration of war was based, so far as it was concerned with disabilities or deaths incurred in military service, on the principles of the workmen's compensation laws recently enacted by more than thirty of the States. Among civilized peoples the United States had been late in adopting these principles. In most of the European countries they had long been accepted. In brief, the State compensation laws, most of which have been enacted during the past ten years, seek to provide a rational, scientific system for the relief of all victims of industrial accidents, instead of leaving the matter to the initiative of the individual victim. They look to the community's interest in the welfare of the workingman and that of his family. Differing in detail, these various State laws are alike in recognizing the same social end.

Uncle Sam's Bargain with John Doughboy

Not only did the authors of the War Risk Insurance law demand that the Government should make payments on a definite, uniform scale to the injured soldier and his dependents. They insisted that provision be made for every soldier's family, from the day he entered the service, and that the soldier himself should do his part. In effect, Uncle Sam said to Nephew John Doughboy: "I'm drafting you for my service and taking you temporarily away from your business. At the same time I'm conscripting your family, for the absence of the breadwinner greatly increases the family burdens. The family must be held together, if possible, for the good of society. Very well, I will pay you



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LIEUT.-COL. R. G. CHOLMELEY-JONES, DIRECTOR OF THE WAR RISK INSURANCE BUREAU SINCE MAY, 1919

\$30 a month, but \$15 of that must go to your wife as a regular allotment and to every \$15 that your wife receives out of your pay I will add \$15 on my own account. For children I will make further provision, up to a maximum of \$50 per family, but you must contribute half of your pay."

Thus John Doughboy's wife was assured at least \$30 and a family might receive as much as \$66.50 every month. It was a thoroughly democratic arrangement. There was not the slightest element of "bounty" or gratuity in it. Nor did it in any way compromise the self-respect of John or his wife. All of Uncle Sam's millions of nephews who were with the colors were on precisely the same footing. Favoritism was barred. Beyond question, the fact that the Government took this responsibility for the care of dependents of enlisted men greatly strengthened the morale of our fighting forces overseas.

The Government as Insurance Company

Uncle Sam, however, was not content with merely sending monthly remittances to John Doughboy's family and paying death and disability claims. He thought that his nephew ought to be given a way of making better provision for his wife and children in the event of his death or permanent disability even after the end of the war. The problem of insuring John Doughboy's life was a perplexing one and if Uncle Sam himself had not attacked it when he did it might have gone unsolved to this day. The American Army and Navy constituted an exceptional

body of absolutely "good risks," from the insurance standpoint—in peace time. In war time—well, the insurance companies would underwrite any soldier or sailor, but the premium must be large enough to cover the war hazard. In our Civil War considerably less than one per cent. of the Union and Confederate armies were insured. The overwhelming majority of the young men who went to the training camps in 1917 were without insurance. Probably few of them had given the subject much thought.

Life-Insurance Soliciting Extraordinary

The War Risk Insurance Act provided government insurance for officers and men up to \$10,000 on the payment of premiums considerably below those ordinarily charged. Of course, this was a wonderful opportunity and those service men who knew anything about insurance and saw the advantage to their families were quick to seize it; but about 75 per cent. of the men seemed apathetic, and to win them over the Army authorities carried through in the winter of 1917-18 one of the greatest "selling" campaigns in the annals of business. So many other activities related to the war were in progress at the time and the doings in the training camps were so little known to the great world outside that the American public was ill-informed as to the magnitude of this "drive." John Doughboy himself had to rub his eyes when his Uncle Samuel appeared in the guise of an insurance agent, but in the end he succumbed—and with the best of grace. Here is the story:

By the middle of December, 1917, there had been nearly a quarter of a million of applications for insurance, aggregating more than \$2,000,000,000. A month later 470,000 men were insured for more than \$4,000,000,000. By this time the campaign was fast and furious and not a soldier or officer in the great cantonments at home or in the training camps in France was exempt from solicitation. With the watchword, "A Million Insured Before February 12," regiments were already reporting "100 per cent. insured" and enthusiasm ran high. In a single day (January 28th) 32,000 insurance applications were received for \$260,000,000.

Early in February several of the great camps were reported as from 95 to 98 per cent. insured. By February 12th practically every army camp was more than 93 per cent. insured and more than the million policy-

holders called for by the watchword had been "written." Then Congress extended for sixty days the time within which application might be received from men in active service when the act became effective (originally 120 days), and the drive was continued. On February 14, 54,000 applications for \$500,000,000 of insurance were received. From that time on the number of policies written increased with the steady growth of the army itself. Early in March the total of insurance exceeded \$12,000,000,000, a month later \$14,000,000,000, on May 14, \$16,500,000,000, and on June 30, \$21,500,000,000 with an average policy for each man of \$8387.

Yet this vast sum, to which nothing in the previous history of life insurance is comparable, was more than doubled by the end of the year when the Bureau reported more than 4,150,000 policies outstanding for a total insurance of over \$38,000,000,000!

When it is remembered that the statisticians have estimated the entire amount of life insurance in force in the United States during 1917 at somewhat more than \$27,000,000,000, that all the Liberty Loans together amounted to about \$23,000,000,000, and that the national debt of Great Britain at the date of the Armistice was about \$33,000,000,000, we begin to glimpse the vastness of the Doughboy's insurance claims.

The Bureau's Three Fields of Operation

We have seen that the War Risk Bureau was charged with three distinct functions: (1) A banking service in the handling of soldiers' family allotments and allowances; (2) adjusting and paying claims resulting from injuries and deaths incurred in line of duty; (3) insurance of officers and men at cost against death or permanent total disability. It has frequently happened that a writer in discussing the Bureau's work has confined himself to some one of these divisions, ignoring or minimizing the activities of the others. It follows that the public has not at all times been able to estimate fairly the Bureau's achievements as a whole. Yet the work in each of the three divisions is of vital importance, affecting the well-being of countless thousands of living Americans and of other thousands yet unborn.

Insuring Ships and Seamen at a Profit

When the War Risk Bureau was established two years ago there had already been



A DAILY SCENE IN ONE OF THE WAR RISK BUREAU'S OFFICES
(The clerical force has been recruited from every part of the country)

in existence since 1914 a bureau of the Treasury Department organized for the purpose of insuring merchant ships and cargoes (and later the lives of seamen) against the special hazards created by the war. This bureau had been managed with efficiency and issued 33,381 policies on which premiums had been collected, amounting to nearly \$47,600,000, and claims paid of about more than \$28,600,000. With a total business of nearly \$2,400,000,000 this bureau was able to show a surplus above expenses of more than \$17,500,000. In three years of operation the Government had actually made money in the insurance business and had at the same time powerfully aided in keeping our commerce afloat on the high seas at a time when all neutral ships and cargoes were in special peril.

Handling Allotments and Allowances

The War Risk Bureau, as organized today, is an expansion of the Marine and Seamen's Insurance Bureau of pre-war days. It was created by Secretary McAdoo in accordance with the act of Congress of October 6, 1917. Even the men who drafted that law and the members of Congress who debated and passed it could hardly have visualized the tremendous business that was to be transacted under its provisions. Take, for instance, the banking operations conducted by the Allotment and Allowance Di-

vision—4,391,356 applications, with an expenditure during a year and a half of \$508,000,000. The clerical labor involved in this enormous number of individual transactions was all performed under handicaps that cannot easily be exaggerated. The whole clerical force was created almost overnight and housed in such temporary quarters as could be secured in the City of Washington in the fall and winter of 1917-18. Names and addresses as they were received from the military authorities were incorrectly spelled in numberless cases. The unavoidable result was delay in the sending of many allotments, and complaints of this delay poured in from every side. If the Bureau had waited until it had its machinery fully perfected, fewer errors might have been made, but the delay would have affected millions instead of a few thousands. It decided to begin sending out checks at once and to perfect its machinery as it went along. Undoubtedly this procedure worked the greatest good to the greatest number.

A Great Court of Domestic Relations

In carrying out the provisions of the law relating to allotments and allowances complications at once arose which could not be understood by anyone who had not made a special study of the law itself. Several of these were explained by Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay in an article contributed

to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for April, 1918. The allotment was made compulsory for every enlisted man who had a wife, or a child under eighteen years of age or any age if the child was insane or permanently helpless, or a divorced wife to whom alimony had been decreed by a court and who had not remarried. A common-law wife was entitled to the same consideration as a legal wife, and the claims of a legal wife and of all children took precedence of those of a divorced wife. At the time when Dr. Lindsay wrote his article more than half of the soldiers who filed statements in the Bureau as required by the law denied that they had dependents for whom allotment of pay was compulsory or for whom they wished to make a voluntary allotment. Commenting on this fact, Dr. Lindsay said:

Some of these no doubt will be found to have a wife or child for whom they seek to evade responsibility and such wife or child or someone on their behalf should make application direct to the Bureau if they do not receive the allotment, and the man will be brought to account.

In the later experience of the Bureau Dr. Lindsay's prediction proved correct in a great number of instances. The difficulty of getting the facts in cases of this kind enormously added to the work of the Bureau and resulted in the organization of what is known in Washington as the greatest Court of Domestic Relations in the world, manned by a staff of legal experts who have at their

finger's ends the marriage and divorce statutes of every State in the Union.

Payments for Disability

The Compensation and Claims Division, contending with all the inevitable errors arising from misspelling of names and duplication of names, which caused so much trouble in the matter of allotments and allowances, is nevertheless now paying monthly claims to the amount of \$1,652,279, and has paid claims for burial expenses of \$1,645,225.

Among the amendments to the War Risk Insurance Act which have been requested by the Bureau and the Treasury Department, have been adopted by the House, and are now before the Senate, are important changes in the schedule of compensation payable to disabled ex-service men. As the law now stands a man totally disabled is entitled to \$30 a month if single. The amendment raises this to \$80. If the man has a wife but no child living he gets \$45 under the law. The amendment provides \$90. If he has a wife and one child he now draws \$55, and the amendment gives him \$95. The adoption of these more reasonable rates would seem to remove every valid excuse for the introduction of special pension bills in the years to come.

Treatment in Hospitals

A matter that vitally concerns many thousands of disabled ex-service men is the hospital treatment to which they are entitled under the law. Government hospitals administered by the Public Health Service (under the Treasury Department) have already received nearly 13,000 cases for treatment and of this number about 7000 have been discharged. Men are now being received at the rate of 125 a day. Several thousand disabled men are about to be discharged from army hospitals and they will at once become War Risk cases for which hospital facilities will be required. For some of these cases probably many months of treatment will be needed to effect a cure. Congress at its last



WHERE SOLDIERS' RECORDS ARE FILED

session appropriated \$9,000,000 for the purchase or building and equipment of hospitals especially for War Risk cases.

Several hundred shell-shock cases are now under treatment in special hospitals where the appliances and the environment are peculiarly fitted to help restore these boys to their normal condition, physical and mental.

Reinstatement of Insurance

As the largest insurance company in the world, the War Risk Bureau now finds itself after having collected premiums amounting to more than \$200,000,000, compelled to use every resource at its command in the way of argument and exhortation to induce its four million and a half of policy holders to prevent the lapsing of their claims. A recent Treasury decision authorized the reinstatement of Government Insurance within eighteen months after the soldier's discharge by the payment of only two months' premiums on the amount of insurance to be reinstated, one covering the month of grace during which the policy remained in force, and one the month in which reinstatement is made.

In July last the advisory committee, headed by former Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes (himself an insurance expert of no mean standing) recommended that every possible effort be made to bring about the reinstatement of policies and the continuance of their insurance by the soldiers, sailors and marines. For many months past the energies of the Bureau have been largely directed to this end. The Hughes Committee took the ground that insurance with the guarantee of the United States Government behind it should be availed of to the fullest possible extent by all service men, since the opportunity was offered to them in recognition of their sacrifice.

Advantages of Government Insurance

It should be clearly understood that insurance now held by former service men



SIGNING CHECKS BY WHOLESALE FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AND THEIR FAMILIES. THE MECHANICAL PROCESSES FOR DUPLICATING SIGNATURES ARE AVAILED OF TO THE FULLEST EXTENT BY THE VARIOUS DIVISIONS OF THE BUREAU

may be converted at any time within five years after the declaration of peace into permanent insurance, permanently administered by the United States Government. The forms of Government insurance include:

Ordinary Life.

Twenty-payment Life.

Thirty-payment Life.

Twenty-year Endowment.

Thirty-year Endowment.

Endowment maturing at the age of sixty-two years.

Objection has been made to the provision in the law by which policies are paid in monthly installments covering a period of twenty years. Under an amendment, already passed by the House of Representatives and now before the Senate, the insured may elect to have the policy paid in lump sum, in thirty-six monthly payments, or as at present.

Most of the original policies were for \$10,000. Since it may prove difficult for holders of these policies to pay the premium for this amount of insurance the Bureau permits the conversion of any part of the original insurance for any amount not less than \$1000 and in multiples of \$500 at a proportionate rate of premium. Premiums on these converted policies may be paid monthly, quarterly, semi-annually or an-

nually, and the discounted value of all premiums paid in advance of the month in which the death of the insured occurs are refunded at the settlement of the claim. Government policies are non-taxable and are incontestable from date of issue, save for non-payment of premiums. Add to these advantages the fact that because the entire cost of administration is assumed by the Bureau and is not included in the premium the initial cost of the insured is considerably below that of a policy in an ordinary commercial company, and the argument in favor of the retention or reinstatement of Government insurance would seem conclusive. Many service men seem to have taken this view.

The Bureau's Management and Personnel

If the somewhat well-known American ambition for bigness were the sole motive animating the men who guide the destinies of the War Risk Bureau, they would have ceased long ago to look for other worlds to conquer. Taking mere size as the criterion, the Bureau stands unchallenged. It is indeed a giant among the Washington offices and the work that it does makes of the Government a powerful competitor with private business organizations that in the past have had a great field to themselves. Yet its very bigness would defeat itself if the personnel failed to measure up to the opportunity.

From the first the Bureau has not lacked for intelligent and able leadership. It was started under the wise and enthusiastic direction of Secretary McAdoo and since his retirement from the Treasury Department it has had the unflinching support of his successor, Secretary Glass. The men who took a chief part in framing the law of 1917 were Judge Julian W. Mack, of Chicago; Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Capt. S. H. Wolfe; Mr. V. Everit Macy, and Pro-

fessors Samuel McCune Lindsay, Henry R. Seager, and Thomas J. Parkinson, of Columbia University. Judge Thomas B. Love was made Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of War Risk Insurance.

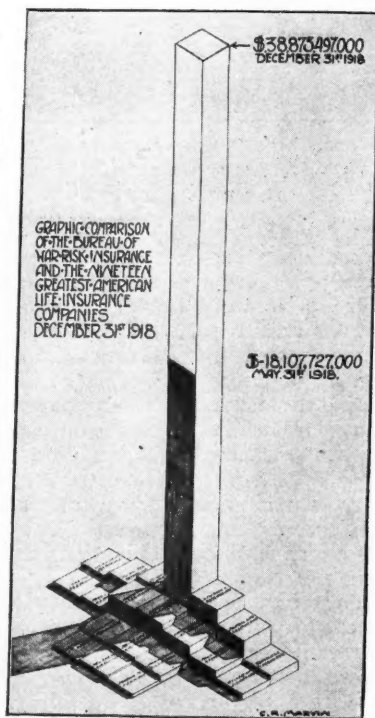
The present Director of the Bureau, Lieutenant-Col. R. G. Cholmeley-Jones, was one of the group of officers who went to France with the late Major Willard Straight in December, 1917, to promote the insurance idea throughout the A. E. F. Since his appointment to the Directorship in May last, Colonel Cholmeley-Jones has succeeded to a remarkable degree in communicating to the whole organization something of his own contagious vim and earnestness in the course

of making the Bureau serve in the most effective ways the immediate and future needs of the ex-service man.

As for the heads of divisions and subdivisions and the rank and file generally, their chiefs have good reason to be proud of them. It is the general testimony that never before has an office force in Washington developed so great a measure of intelligence and zeal in equal parts. The old Department atmosphere is wholly lacking. Of the 13,000 employees a large proportion have come from distant States. A division chief who had spent years of his business life in one of the largest New York insurance offices said that the rapidity and accuracy with which these young men and women mastered the intricacies of the business continually amazed him.

Here is one Government office where labor-saving machinery and time-saving methods are at a premium. If the spirit of the War Risk Insurance Bureau ever permeates the rest of Uncle Sam's Washington offices, Red Tape is doomed.

Because there were no precedents to follow, the War Risk Bureau has made its own precedents.



THE BUREAU COMPARED WITH THE NINETEEN LEADING LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES OF THE UNITED STATES

CHINESE PROGRESS, IN MEDICINE, SCHOOLS AND POLITICS

BY GEORGE E. VINCENT

(President of the Rockefeller Foundation)

[*Dr. Vincent returned in October from a visit of several months spent in the inspection of the medical enterprises in China that the Rockefeller Foundation, of which he is President, entered upon several years ago. He gives us a fresh picture of progress in the great country across the Pacific, and some realizing sense of America's opportunities of service to the Chinese.*—THE EDITOR]

“THE dormant giant is stirring; he will soon rise, shake himself, and call his tormentors to account.” This is the sort of rhetoric which just now comes glibly from sanguine friends of the Celestial Republic. Among knowing ones in the Far East a quite different sentiment has been appreciatively savored: “China is not waking up; she’s only turning over in her sleep.” Somewhere between the seers and the cynics lies the truth; but who shall say at what distance from either extreme? Surely not a traveler who has merely spent a summer in visiting hospitals and medical schools in a score of Chinese cities from Mukden to Canton and from Shanghai to Changsha.

Yet an American cannot inquire with some care into the conditions of medical education and of hospital administration in China without also gaining impressions about general education, the sense of nationality, the attitude of China toward the United States, and the opportunity which America has in the Far East for statesmanlike leadership. Such impressions confirm neither the theory of the awakening giant nor that of restless slumber. These observations for what they are worth are set down with diffidence, for only the tourist who spends a few days in a treaty port and the “old China hand” dare speak with oracular finality.

It must be owned that there are disconcerting features in present-day Chinese life. “The Chinese lavishes so much loyalty on family, community, and province that he has none left for the nation” says a clever returned student at dinner. “The country is practically sold out now; no wonder the Peking politicians are getting what they can,” declares another. “Oh, we always absorb any invaders in the course of two or

three centuries,” is the philosophic dictum of a serene spectator of his country’s danger. In a company of intelligent, foreign-trained young Chinese, some of them minor Government officials, questions about the composition of the present legislative bodies, the qualifications of the electors, the number participating in the voting and the like, elicit amused replies or merely provoke gently ironic laughter.

Certain things in China may well cause apprehension: the division between North and South, which are terms of political faith rather than of geography; large armies unpaid for months, living on the countryside and terrorizing towns and cities; bandits now and then committing depredations within a few miles of centers like Peking and Canton; a government vacillating between the demands of militarists and fear of popular uprisings; revenues needed for constructive national tasks diverted to the uses of clamorous generals or dissipated in administration inefficient or worse; the development of natural resources hindered by the lack of public order and security; internal discord and weakness inviting aggression from without.

But when the worst has been said, there remain other aspects of China which are full of hope. One marvels that in spite of all the difficulties that have been mentioned the mighty current of Chinese life flows on steadily, calmly, irresistibly, for the most part in beds worn during the centuries but increasingly too in newly broken channels of innovation and progress. China is typical of a distracted world. If attention be fixed solely upon the sorrow, disease, poverty, strife, bitterness and suspicion of the present hour, it is well-nigh impossible to escape despair.

But when one takes account of the persistent, normal, upbuilding influences at work in the world, he takes heart again. So with China. There is a dark side, but there is also a bright and encouraging side.

Among the noteworthy evidences of progress in China are the developments in medicine, hospital care, general education, and a sense of nationality. There are nearly two hundred and fifty hospitals almost exclusively for Chinese patients, established and maintained by Protestant missionaries. These institutions vary from one-doctor dispensaries with a few beds in native buildings, to large, well-housed and equipped, modern hospitals with specialized staffs and trained nurses. There are, to be sure, only a few of the latter type. Various Catholic orders offer hospital service, generally in the larger centers. Local foreign physicians usually compose the staffs while the nursing is done by the sisters. In the treaty ports municipal councils, foreign societies, firms of practicing doctors, and individuals have opened hospitals and nursing homes for Europeans and Americans. The Japanese maintain excellent hospitals, chiefly for their nationals in cities where the Japanese population is numerous. The China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation is building in Peking a large medical school and hospital plant. A similar project will soon be under way in Shanghai. In both places the hospitals of two hundred and fifty beds will represent the highest standard of construction and equipment and will be in charge of full-time physicians and surgeons of modern scientific training.

These numerous models are having their influence upon the Chinese. The central and the provincial governments are establishing, often in connection with medical schools, hospitals which represent a marked advance over previous native standards. In Peking and Canton are two Chinese hospitals which, so far as buildings go, compare favorably with institutions of the better type in the United States. Even the private Chinese hospitals to be found in every city reflect—often pathetically, it is true—the influence of Western ideas.

Hospital standards are a significant index of the status of medical education. In the early days Protestant missionaries in need of assistants did their best in connection with their hospital duties to train a few young men and women. Gradually certain centers for medical education were established. In-

adequate facilities and a small staff of over-worked doctors could at best turn out, on the average, only intelligent subordinates. Further experience in hospitals under wise guidance enabled a few of these graduates to acquire considerable knowledge and skill. Certain of them after a period of further training abroad became valuable practitioners.

This system was a pioneer necessity, but it could not be a permanent policy. With the advent of the China Medical Board, and under the leadership of the China Medical Missionary Association, the need of concentrating upon a few centers and of raising these to a higher standard was recognized. It now seems fairly certain that medical education under American and British auspices will be localized in Peking, Tsinan-fu, Shanghai, Changsha, Canton, Hongkong and Cheng-tu. The plan of the China Medical Board is to establish in Peking and Shanghai medical schools of the best type which will train Chinese as general practitioners, offer to both Chinese and foreign doctors opportunities for graduate study and specialization, encourage research particularly with reference to diseases prevalent in the Far East, and promote an interest in public health and preventive medicine.

Another source of influence upon medical education is found in the body of Chinese doctors who have been trained in the United States, Europe, and Japan. In the last named country medical education of an excellent character is given in the best schools, such as that of the Imperial University in Tokio. Unfortunately, most of the Chinese who resort to Japan are graduated from the relatively low grade special schools which do not receive full recognition from the Japanese government. Nevertheless these Japanese-trained Chinese get the point of view of modern medicine and may be counted among the forces which are in some degree promoting it.

The effects of institutional and personal influence upon Chinese medical schools are to be noted everywhere. Governmental training centers, both civil and military, are better equipped and more adequately manned. Standards are being slowly but measurably raised. Modern medicine is officially accepted in theory and increasingly supported in practice. As better trained men gain positions of authority under a reformed system of civil service, there is every reason to ex-

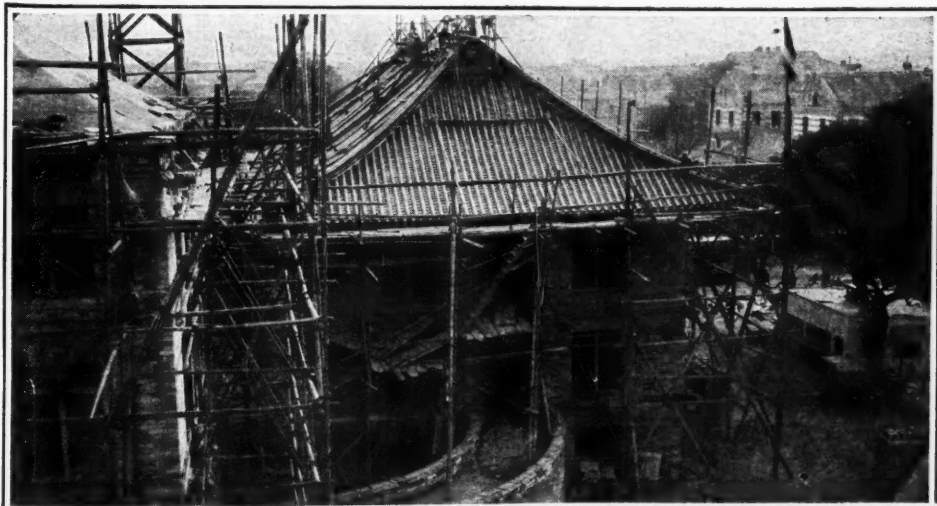
pect further progress in both Chinese medical education and hospital administration.

The attempt to provide modern professional training for the Chinese raises a vital question: Is the native mind capable of acquiring the scientific point of view? There is much dogmatizing about the mental traits of the Chinese. The traditional theory is that he is slavishly imitative, capable of astonishing feats of memory, but that he is congenitally lacking in creative imagination, resourcefulness, ability to use his knowledge to solve new problems. The opinions of a score or more of American teachers who are giving instruction to Chinese pupils in missionary secondary schools and colleges may be generalized in some such fashion as this:

The old method of Chinese education which laid all the stress on memorizing the classics, the enormous imitative effort involved in mastering hundreds if not thousands of Chinese characters, the highly conventional nature of social life with its elaborate etiquette, the influence of ancestor worship and its reverence for tradition, undoubtedly tended to destroy initiative and to prevent independent thinking. But Chinese pupils who from early childhood have attended modernized schools which seek to develop these qualities, are not essentially different from American children. The instructors in the pre-medical school of the Peking Union Medical College regard the small and carefully selected group under

their charge as perceptibly above the average of the American pupils whom they have taught. The note-books of the Chinese students disclose not only good hand-writing, neat and accurate drawing, creditable English, but close observation and discriminating reports in courses in physics, chemistry and biology.

Modern educational ideas are meeting a cordial reception in China. The Nankai School in Tientsin is a remarkable institution. It offers four years of "middle school" or secondary instruction and is introducing two years of college work. The curriculum includes—besides languages and Chinese classics—manual training, history, economics, science, and mathematics. Stress is laid on physical exercise and athletic competition. The head master, Dr. Chang Po Ling, is a man of vision, wisdom, and enthusiasm. He has made a study of Western educational methods. Only recently he spent some time in Teachers College of Columbia University. A majority of the Nankai instructors were trained in the United States. Peiyang University, also in Tientsin, provides technical courses in engineering. Peking University maintains an undergraduate curriculum and professional instruction. Tsinghua College—known as the "indemnity college" because it is maintained by the refunded American share of the Boxer indemnities—is housed in handsome buildings on a beautiful campus in the vicinity of the capital. The graduates



PEKING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE

(A side view of Anatomy Building, with Chemistry Building at the left. The picture affords a good idea of roof detail)

are sent for continued study to the United States, having been prepared by a modernized curriculum to enter American schools.

A large part of the credit for the educational progress in China is due to the example set by the system of schools and colleges established throughout the country by missionary societies. The graduates of these institutions, as well as Chinese who have completed their studies abroad, have taken a leading part in the notable increase of governmental primary and secondary schools since the establishment of the Republic. More than four million pupils are now enrolled in these schools. Teacher training centers are being organized and modernized curricula are being introduced. True, only a beginning has been made; but it is a beginning full of promise for a new China.

Other signs of a new China are not wanting. The cynical may smile at the mention of the Republic; they may deride the senate and the lower house. The fact remains that the Manchus rule no longer. The forms of republican government may for the moment seem somewhat to mock the Chinese people, but these very forms and names mark a sharp and dramatic break with the old order. They serve as symbols of a new regime, suggesting modern ideas, and inviting to a fuller realization of them. The Chinese are not to be hurried too rapidly. They must be gradually inoculated with novel theories. They are becoming accustomed to the language of popular government; in time they may demand not only the rhetoric but the reality of republican institutions.

As a matter of fact, the present government in Peking is by no means an irresponsible autocracy. Of late it has had to reckon with an organized and powerful public opinion, an unmistakable feeling of nationality. Under the leadership of the "students"—that is, not only school boys and girls, and college graduates, but alumni as well—and organizations of business men, a sense of national unity and of national danger has been astonishingly extended and deepened. A jealousy of encroachments from without, a suspicion that men in authority are disloyal to the country, a demand for international justice, a program of industrial autonomy have manifested themselves in striking ways. This national consciousness seems to have penetrated the remotest parts of the Republic. The "wiseacres" of the Treaty Ports admit that this is a novel phe-

nomenon. There may be something in the awaking-giant idea after all.

In the new China women seem likely to have a larger share. School girls and young women students have played a recognized part in the popular movement of the last few months. In the medical profession opportunities have long been offered to women. The new medical schools in Peking and Shanghai will be accessible to them on equal terms with men. The government schools open to them on a large scale the career of teaching. The missionary schools have rendered no greater service than in providing a modern and idealistic education for the daughters of influential Chinese families. It will be many a year, however, before the condition of the mass of Chinese women will be greatly changed. Outside the cities and the larger towns foot-binding is said to be still practiced.

Of the friendship of China for America to-day there can be no question. The Chinese look to the United States as a relatively disinterested nation that has the desire and the power to secure for them freedom and fairplay. There is something pathetic in this faith. Surely, they say, the country that declined to accept an indemnity, that never seized any Chinese territory, that has sent thousands of men and women to do unselfish deeds of mercy and benevolence, that has fought in a world war in behalf of self-government and of justice among nations, will not fail a people who are seeking to realize for themselves American ideals of representative government and of national independence and dignity.

The embarrassment which such an appeal involves is obvious. The situation in the Far East is complex, difficult, almost baffling. It contains perhaps the germs of another mighty conflict. To fix sole responsibility upon any one nation is unfair and futile. It is a world problem the solution of which demands magnanimity and sacrifice by all the interests concerned. The Chinese look to the United States as the one power that can assume the leadership in a statesmanlike attempt to find a solution which will substitute for independent aggressions and dangerous rivalries a coöperation in guaranteeing the integrity of the Republic, and in helping to develop its resources, physical and social, for its sake and for the welfare of the world. In all this is China awake or only dreaming?

BANK STOCKS AS POPULAR INVESTMENTS

BY DEAN MATHEY

IN THIS era of investments, while much has been said and written about the possibilities of all classes of securities, little attention has been paid the investment opportunities obtained by the purchase of sound bank stocks.

Literature has extensively circulated from banking houses and institutions having public utility bonds and industrial stocks for sale, calling the public's attention to the many advantages of those types of investment. Even many well-known financial writers and statisticians, with apparently no axe to grind, have held forth at length on the attractiveness to the investing public of public utility bonds and industrial preferred stocks. But I have yet to come across any well-known financial writer or investment banking house calling attention to the many and peculiar advantages in the purchase for investment of good bank stocks.

I venture to suggest that the absence of financial literature on this subject is due in part to the fact that in spite of the large amount of capital invested in the many banks in the country, bank stocks do not have to be sold to the investment public but are quietly absorbed by a discriminating few.

Why has the average successful business man not hesitated to purchase all types of investment securities, old and new, good and bad, and not favored bank stocks—although there are in the United States over 25,000 National and State banks, representing an invested capital of many hundreds of million dollars? The average security buyer looks upon the shares in a bank as something a bit mysterious, entirely too high in price, and an investment to be owned only by the very rich or by those who are "on the inside"; something, in short, to be left alone by the comparatively small successful business man.

How Does a Bank Make Money?

The primary function of the typical National or State bank is the lending of its credit. A bank, because it is organized and

safeguarded under governmental laws, is an institution whose credit is widely accepted; and it may lend its credit to the business man whose credit, although good, is not as acceptable or as negotiable to the general public. For example, let us take a bank operating in a fair-sized city with a capital of \$100,000, against which it must maintain a cash reserve of 10 per cent. With this capital the bank can lend to its customers up to \$1,000,000 and still maintain its 10 per cent. reserve. If the average interest rate obtained be $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., it can be readily seen that the gross earnings from this operation alone will amount to \$45,000, or 45 per cent. on the capital.

But the modern bank performs many more functions in serving its customers than merely lending its credit, most of which functions, though not necessarily all, are of the lucrative nature. Large earnings often accrue to banks from collections on out-of-town debtors, renting of safe-deposit vaults, dealings in foreign exchange and letters of credit. State banks, and also National banks under the new Reserve Act, may act as administrators, guardians and trustees, registrars of stocks, and trustees under mortgage of corporations; and when they do so they receive handsome fees for performing their duties. Recently the larger trust companies and National banks, either directly or indirectly through subsidiary companies, have entered the investment-banking business from which large profits have accrued.

So we see the bank of the present day constantly broadening its field of action and service to its clients, rendering them a host of services for which a moderate though profitable charge is made. Against these items of profit must of course be charged the operating expenses of the bank, the occasional losses it has to take upon poor investments, etc., the amount of which naturally depends upon the efficiency with which each particular bank is operated. But all things considered, the "overhead" in the banking business is, in proportion to the busi-

ness done, I hazard saying, less than in any other business known to the commercial world.

Strength of Bank Stocks as Investments

Let us now consider a few special points about bank stocks which would tend to make them not only a lucrative but unusually safe form of investment. A bank's capital, surplus, and assets are invested in one way or another in *many* different forms. Its capital and surplus (irrespective of cash reserve) may be invested partly in government bonds, various high grade corporation securities, and perhaps the building in which the bank is located. Its assets are generally divided among a host of other business or personal risks of a more liquid character. Now, distribution of risk is an axiom of the wise investor, and the shares owned by an investor in a sound and well-managed bank represent as pretty a distribution of risk as one could hope to obtain in any available investment.

The stability of the business of a bank is another point to consider. Many industries are subject to periodic depressions resulting from varied causes such as over-production, falling-off in demand, labor troubles, etc., when failures are likely to occur. But consider the position of the bank having its business distributed, as it is, over so many different channels and having for its clients such a variety of customers. Surely its "eggs" are not all in one basket. The federal government and most State governments prevent this by prohibiting banks from lending more than 10 per cent. of their capital and surplus to any one person or corporation.

The liquid character of a bank's capital, surplus, and assets is another feature that is worthy of mention. How many prosperous industrial or public utility corporations could liquidate their property in case of necessity? How much a railroad's physical assets are actually worth under the hammer, sad investors have many times learned. What is the value under forced sale of the physical capital of an erstwhile prosperous industrial plant that has got into difficulties? Very little surely. But the capital, surplus, and assets of the well-managed bank—with a few minor exceptions such as, perhaps, the bank building, office furniture, etc.—consist of securities and obligations which are either marketable or have a definite and early maturity.

Another feature worthy of comment is the

unusual opportunity an investor in his local bank stock has of seeing the corporation operate, or judging through personal observation and contact the abilities of its officers, and actually to test for himself, by carrying his account in the bank, its methods of doing business. There are very few sound business enterprises to-day in which one can invest with such an opportunity afforded.

Furthermore, the safeguards afforded by the periodic government examinations carried on by a corps of efficient bank examiners (under the supervision of the Federal Reserve Board in the case of banks which belong to the Federal Reserve System) give to the investor the assurance that the corporation in which he is part owner is managing its affairs at least honestly. How many security owners in other types of business corporations have this assurance? To the average security owner an annual report (often covering a multitude of sins) is the only information available as to the management, operation, and earnings of the corporation.

The Strong Record of Bank Stocks

If anyone doubts the value of bank stocks, let him pick up the Bank and Quotation Supplement of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* and see for himself the prices quoted for the stocks of not only the leading and largest banks but the smaller and less important ones. You will find about 2 per cent. of these stocks quoted below par, and very many around \$400 or \$500 a share, the original stock having been subscribed at par \$100 plus a proportional share of the original surplus. When one sees the stocks of the First National Bank of New York selling above \$1,000 a share after paying a 1900 per cent. stock dividend, the First National of Chicago around \$500 after valuable subscription rights, the Union Trust of San Francisco at \$2200, and the stocks of younger and less important banks in large and small cities alike selling relatively as high, is it not reasonable to conclude that original investors in bank stocks have found them considerably profitable and sufficiently safe?

If you inquire you will probably find that your local bank stock is selling well over par, perhaps 300 or 400 per cent. of par, and you will probably conclude that it is selling too high; that it only nets 5 per cent. or 4½ per cent., or perhaps less; and that even though bank stocks have proved a profitable

and safe form of investment to those lucky enough to own them, they are too high for you and you cannot afford to buy them. And if you follow this line of reasoning you will be guilty, along with a legion of other investors, of a great fallacy—the insidious fallacy of thinking a stock, or anything else for that matter, is a bargain because it is cheap. There is but one factor to consider in purchasing a security, and that is its true value. One must look further than par values and market prices if one is to survive as an investor these days; and strange as it may seem, an investor will more often find the most relative value in the highest priced stocks. Many people refused to buy old Standard Oil Company of New Jersey shares before the split, when they were selling around \$400 per share, because they were *too high*. But the discriminating few who believed in the oil business, and who looked more to the actual value behind Standard Oil stock than the price at which it was selling are much better off to-day, with their stock worth \$2000 or \$3000 a share, than those who bought something else because it was cheaper.

Objections Sometimes Raised

There are three objections which are generally offered by the investing business man to the purchase of bank stocks, which off-hand might seem to be real objections. These are: (1) The double liability attached to most bank stocks in the United States; (2) the limited market for their purchase and sale; and (3) their low *apparent* income yield.

In regard to double liability, the instances where the bank stockholders have actually been called upon to pay any of this double liability, after liquidation of a bank through failure, are very few and almost negligible, relative to the amount of capital invested in bank stocks. Since the panic of 1907, when the Knickerbocker Trust Company of New York went under, practically no failures of importance have occurred in the United States except the First-Second National Bank of Pittsburgh. Instances of bank failures are becoming less and less, due to the growing stability of our banks themselves and the constant supervision of these institutions by the Government.

The Federal Reserve System with its periodic examinations of member banks, both State and National, and its facilities for ren-

dering aid by extending credit to its member banks in periods of stress and strain, has placed all banking institutions in the United States in a much stronger position than they have hitherto enjoyed, and has practically precluded, as every well-informed banker knows, the danger of another financial crisis such as we had in 1907 with its attendant bank failures.

While it would be putting it too strongly, perhaps, to say that no bank failures can occur in the future under our new banking system, we may say that since the inauguration of the Federal Reserve System in 1914 no bank belonging to this system has failed, and we can be safe in predicting that there will be fewer bank failures under the new system than there were under our former unscientific banking laws.

Most bank stocks are not a particularly liquid asset. A bank stock, in fact, should be essentially a "long pull" investment and not one to be "bought for a turn" by the average investor. It should be purchased primarily as a permanent investment. However, if you needed to sell your bank stocks there are several markets open to you.

First, you may go to the bank itself, see the president or some other officer, whom perhaps you may know, and advise him of the amount of stock for sale. The officers of the bank would probably be interested in seeing that your stock was purchased by friendly parties, and would more than likely have a place for it at a reasonable figure based upon its book value, which, though often conservatively misleading, represents the "liquidation value" of your stock. This is determined by dividing the number of shares of capital stock into the capital liabilities—which include capital, surplus, and undivided profits.

If you fail to obtain a satisfactory market for your stock by approaching an officer of the bank, you may place your stock in the hands of a brokerage firm which handles bank stocks in one of the large cities. While these specialists have a reputation for knocking-off generous commissions on their orders, nevertheless the fact that the definite book value of a bank stock can generally be easily and quite definitely determined at any time helps to give it reasonable marketability.

The low income yield, in spite of large dividends resulting from the high price at which most bank stocks sell, is misleading. Why do the stocks in all our leading banks

in America sell anywhere from 200 to 1000 per cent. of their par value, in spite of past distributions of stock dividends in many cases? Why does this also hold true in the leading banks of Canada, England, and France? It is because a good bank takes more pride in its surplus than in its dividends. It is because the excellent earnings of the past have not been paid out in dividends, but have been added to a surplus which is generally invested in interest-bearing securities or held as a cash reserve as a basis for further loans, thereby increasing the earning capacity of the institution.

Some financial sage once said that the only place one dollar was worth two dollars was when it was invested in a good paying business; and this holds particularly true of the excess earnings over dividends placed to surplus account each year in a bank.

Where the Real Profit Lies

We might look at this in another way: Supposing a bank with a capital of \$100,000 and surplus and undivided profits of \$150,000 earns 20 per cent. and in dividends pays only 10 per cent., and sells for \$250 per share (its exact book value). The net income yield is apparently only 4 per cent. but practically it is 8 per cent., for by adding the balance of the earnings over dividends to surplus, the actual book value of the stock becomes \$260 instead of \$250, or 4 per cent. more. This addition to the book value of the stock each year might be termed the "hidden income" and is peculiar to bank stocks, for one should never forget that the surplus of a bank is a *real surplus* in cash, as a basis for further loans, or invested either in marketable interest-bearing obligations with definite maturities or stocks purchased by its officers who know, or should know with the facilities open to them, the proper investments to make.

Bank surpluses are not "book-keeping items" as is often the case with the surpluses on the balance sheets of railroads, public utilities, and industrial companies, which surpluses, if one tried to liquidate, would often quickly vanish into thin air. When earnings are "put back" in a railroad, a public utility or an industrial business, they are used generally in buying raw material or extending the plant—items which always tend to depreciate. The point to be emphasized is that there is practically no item of maintenance in the operation of a bank;

capital and surplus both are either in cash or invested in sound interest or dividend bearing securities which add a *certain definite and tangible* value to the stock.

Therefore, when one sees the book value and actual market value of most all the older bank shares in America selling so consistently high in spite of stock dividends in many cases, one should realize that the apparent low income yield based on dividends and market price is apt to be misleading, and one should look further for the actual and definite "hidden income" added each year to surplus.

Some Notable Instances

A very good example of what this hidden income can mean to the owner of bank shares is afforded by the book value and market price of the stock of the Fifth Avenue Bank of New York which is around \$1,000 a share in spite of a recent stock dividend and valuable subscription rights. With an original par value of \$100 per share, the large percentage of earnings placed to surplus account year after year has so strengthened the resources of this bank that its shares have been a veritable gold mine to the original owners who understood the ever-increasing value of the stock and were not misguided by the apparently low income resulting from a relatively small dividend distribution and a high market price for the stock. The stock of the Chemical National Bank of New York which is selling at \$550 per share after total stock dividends of 1900 per cent., and many others, could be cited as instances showing the enormous value of what I am terming "hidden income."

The Strategic Value of Bank Stocks to the Business Man

There is a phase of investment in bank stocks that perhaps has not occurred to many. I refer to the buying of shares in the bank or banks with which you do your banking business. Is it not sound business policy for the merchant, manufacturer, or financier who is a constant borrower at the banks, and so often dependent on them to tide him over a crucial period, to be a *part owner* in the institution, the good will of which might in a tight place mean success or failure to him? How many merchants or manufacturers doing a profitable and honest business have failed because they have not had the banking support of which they were worthy? How

many have been handicapped in extending a sound profitable business for lack of the proper banking or credit facilities? If you were in a tight pinch for credit, and if it were absolutely necessary for you to secure a loan or renew an old one falling due, would you not feel a little more confident and at ease in asking for your accommodation at a bank in which you were a part owner? And because you were a part owner of the bank, do you think the president or other officers would be any less likely to accommodate you?

Then again, if you do not happen to be a merchant, manufacturer, or financier dependent to such an important extent upon your credit at the bank, but merely an ordinary depositor using its many and ever broadening facilities, would you not feel a little more at home in *your* bank if you owned a few shares of stock in it? And would not the little proprietary interest resulting from the ownership of a few shares tend to stimulate some worth while habits of saving and thrift?

There is another point worth considering which perhaps will apply more particularly to those substantial people living in our smaller towns throughout the country. I refer to the increased prestige one generally enjoys by being associated in a proprietary way with one's local bank. For it is to the small, independent country banks, State or National, peculiar to the United States alone, that so much is owed in the development of the commercial resources of this country and also to the development of the business brains and initiative of many of our big business men. And it is the local country bank that is, or should be to justify its existence, the general headquarters and clearing-house, directly or indirectly, for all important business transactions in the town. This necessarily results in a sort of confidential relation between the bank and the business public of the locality.

Therefore a bank, and particularly the small country bank in its *institutional* capacity, should enjoy the same respect and confidence as the business head of the community in which it is situated as the church enjoys as its spiritual head. This being the case, a good citizen, as soon as he is financially able, should look upon the ownership

of a few shares in his local bank with pride and with a certain responsibility in being associated with the institution, purely aside from the investment value of the stock itself.

A Democratic Banking System

Those who like to talk of a "Money Trust" and Wall Street control will perhaps not agree with the statement that our banking system is to-day the most democratic system in the world—and yet this is so. There is no field of commercial activity in America more open to competition and more imbued with its spirit than the banking business; and it is, I believe, in a great measure this spirit of competition which has made the modern American bank (whether it has a capital of \$10,000 and be located in the Middle West, or \$25,000,000 and be located in New York City), the most serviceable and up-to-date banking medium in the world. And, furthermore, the many small but *independent* banks spread over our great country, act as a training school for our young bankers, and give us a potential supply of trained banking executives who are constantly being called from the smaller banks in the West, Middle West, and South, where they have made good, to the larger banks in the more important cities where there are broader fields for their particular talents. It is no secret that the largest banks in New York are constantly calling such men to them, conferring on them often the most responsible position in the bank.

It is a more wholesome condition to have the shares representing ownership in National and State banks in the hands of a greater proportion of enterprising business men who have funds for investment, rather than to have them concentrated in the strong boxes of the discriminating few. The past would indicate that the growth in the resources and prosperity of banks follows closely the growth and development of the towns or cities in which the banks are located. Therefore, are not the shares of the thousands of banks situated in our small but substantial and growing towns of the West, Middle West, and South, as well as those in our larger cities, worthy of the consideration of more American investors?

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

MR. HOOVER'S ANALYSIS OF EUROPE'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

"DEMORALIZED productivity" is the phrase employed by Mr. Herbert Hoover to summarize the economic difficulties of Europe, as a whole, at the present time. In a memorandum published under the authority of the British Food Controller in the *National Food Journal* and also in the *World's Work* for November, Mr. Hoover shows that the production of necessities for Europe's 450,000,000 (including Russia) has never been at so low an ebb.

Unemployment allowances in one form or another are now being paid to 15,000,000 families, and this payment is accomplished in the main by constant inflation of currency. Mr. Hoover estimates that the population of Europe is at least 100,000,000 greater than can be supported without imports. It must live by production and distribution of exports. Not only is there sad lack of raw materials and imports, but the production of European raw materials is far below the normal standard. Europe is to-day importing vast quantities of certain commodities which she formerly produced for herself and can again produce. "Generally in production she is not only far below even the level of the time of the signing of the armistice, but far below the maintenance of life and health without an unparalleled rate of import."

Mr. Hoover outlines the causes of this:

The industrial and commercial demoralization arising originally out of the war, but continued out of the struggle for political rearrangements during the Armistice, the creation of new governments, their inexperience, and friction between these governments in the readjustment of economic relations.

The proper and insistent demand of labor for higher standards of living and a voice in administration of their effort has unfortunately become impregnated with the theory that the limitation of effort below physical necessity will increase the total employment or improve their condition.

There is a great relaxation of effort as the reflex of physical exhaustion of large sections of the population from privation and from the mental and physical strain of the war.

After a survey of the various conditions and causes working with different intensity in different localities, Mr. Hoover comes to the essential, outstanding fact that "unless productivity can be rapidly increased, there can be nothing but political, moral and economic chaos, finally interpreting itself in a loss of life hitherto undreamed of."

Mr. Hoover is willing to admit that during a brief period it may be possible for the Western Hemisphere to supply the deficiencies of Europe. This would have to be done largely upon credits, but he concludes that the entire surplus productivity of the Western Hemisphere is totally incapable of meeting the present deficiency in European production if it is long continued. Furthermore, credits could not be mobilized for this purpose for more than a short period, for when the return of commodities becomes improbable, credits necessarily break down.

The question of assistance from the Western Hemisphere during a certain temporary period and the devotion of its surplus productivity to Europe, is regarded by Mr. Hoover as dependent in a great degree upon the solution of the factors already noted:

It is a service that the Western Hemisphere must approach with a high sense of human duty and sympathy. This sense will, however, be best performed by the insistence that its aid would not be forthcoming to any country that did not resolutely set in order its internal financial and political situations, that did not devote itself to the increase of productivity, that did not curtail consumption of luxuries and the expenditure upon armaments, and did not cease hostilities, and treat its neighbors fairly.

If these conditions were complied with it is the duty of the West to put forth every possible effort to tide Europe over this period of temporary economic difficulties. Without the fulfilment of these conditions, the effort is hopeless.

THE PROPHETS AND THE PROFITEERS

THE unlovely riots in Europe and the bellowings of the Bolshevik in America have drawn the fire of serious-minded men, and they are resorting to history in a flank attack on the agitators. The cry of profiteering is the most effective rally call of riot, according to Mr. F. Britten Austin, and he says in a recent issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) that we can only reach a solution of the difficulties by calm investigation. High prices are a result of war, not profiteering; and profiteers are merely taking advantage of a situation that would exist without them, not causing the general worldwide rise of prices. Destruction of stocks and inflation of currency, with insufficient means of production, have caused high prices. And mob passion will only increase destruction and make the situation worse.

So, taking the view that we should go about the problem much as a successful military leader does in planning a campaign, he tells us to take historical parallels and study them as a general studies a battle on the same terrain.

Take, for instance, the period in England when the Black Death reduced the population from 4,000,000 to 2,000,000 and disrupted industry to an even greater extent than the Great War. It seems a far cry from 1919 to 1350, but wages and prices both rose like skyrockets then as now; and for the first time in English history the cry of profiteering rang out from the only articulate class—the lords of the soil. In an agricultural civilization such as prevailed in that day, the protest was against the tiller of the soil rather than against “the trusts” and the free laborer was denounced with vituperative thoroughness for his rapacity until the pot boiled over and the Statute of Laborers was passed providing that:

Every man or woman of whatsoever condition, free or bond, able in body, and within the age of threescore years . . . not having of his own whereof he may live . . . and not serving any other, shall be bound to serve the employer who shall require him to do so, and shall take only the wages which were accustomed to be taken in the neighborhood where he is bound to serve two years before the plague began.

Price regulation, or rather wage regulation such as this, was expected to end the trouble, but the resultant anarchy was not quelled until the next generation of manorial land-

owners, who could not cultivate their lands themselves, rented it out on short leases and supplied the necessary capital to their erstwhile laborers. The price-fixing statute became a dead letter; the yeomen farmers became the backbone of England; and as the historian says, “a hundred years later the wages of an English laborer could purchase twice the amount of the necessities of life which could have been obtained for the wages paid under Edward the Third.”

The next upheaval came in the first half of the sixteenth century, when the increased amount of gold and silver imports, together with debasement of currency, brought about the same conditions as we face to-day. First, paper money is far greater than the gold reserves of every belligerent; second, there is far more money increase than increase of production. Then gold was more abundant than goods, and the debased currency stood in relation to the standard metal just as our paper currency stands to the gold reserves. Wheat jumped from less than a dollar in 1495 to nearly two dollars in 1533, and the weekly wage of about a dollar went up twelve cents! For half a century there was chaos, cured only by the gradual increase in volume of commodities from commercial expansion.

In 1772 a number of laws which had proved futile in curbing “regraters,” “fore-stallers,” and middlemen were repealed as ineffective, only to be passed again in 1880 when the price of corn soared. In France, foreign and domestic wars took away most of the laborers, stopped foreign trade, and flooded the currency with assignats; and resultant high prices and discontent nearly overturned the revolution itself. The Girondists established a bread subsidy in September, 1792, which cost nearly \$10,000 a day at present values; and yet the comparatively small city of Paris was starving. In May, 1793, the Jacobins established a maximum price for corn, which price was reduced by successive stages, with the help of the guillotine; but—no corn came to market except under compulsion of the national guards, and farmers and villagers armed themselves for protection the same as they are doing in Russia to-day.

In July, 1794, the Terror fell with Robespierre and a reaction set in which finally resulted in the repeal of the “maximum” after

months of misery in spite of excellent harvests. Under Napoleon, confidence was restored; the farmer and the merchant were unfettered and without fear; national debt was reduced; currency stabilized and kept on a sound basis; and, notwithstanding the wars, the people found it produced a condition of economic comfort that was heaven compared to the false millennium of the Bolsheviks of that day. Mr. Austin says:

Prior to the war London was the world's market for gold—and to bring a golden pound sterling to that market cost, in the value of the loaves of bread consumed by those who extracted the ore, refined it, transported it, provided the machinery and put it on the market, and by those who supplied the clothing and other necessities of the gold producers, very nearly one pound sterling. The piece of cotton goods on the market which was valued at a pound sterling cost, also, from first to last, very nearly one pound to get it there, in the same way. The piece of cotton goods is a symbol for any other commodity. It costs to print a currency note of one pound sterling but a minute fraction of one pound sterling's worth of bread consumed, directly or indirectly, by the paper makers and the printers.

All is well—paper money is very convenient—so long as there is an adequately proportioned amount of gold or any other genuinely costly and readily exchanged commodity brought to the market and held as a backing for those notes. So long as the piece of paper is merely a symbol for the real thing, there and forthcoming whenever required, its value is maintained. The moment there are two notes of a dollar each in the market against the commodity which costs practically a dollar to get there, the value of those notes falls by one-half. As the price is still measured in terms of the currency the price is automatically called two dollars. . . .

There is only one remedy—increased production. With one dollar on the market—and two commodities there, each of which was valued at a dollar—the price of those commodities falls to half a dollar. There is only one dollar to go round, and the merchant is ultimately forced to sell. He does not want to keep his goods as souvenirs. He must realize them at some price or other—even at a loss, for he has financial commitments which he can meet only by realizing his article into money.

What we need, then, is to overtake the amount of inflated currency with a sufficient increase of commodities—"Raise less Cain and more corn!"

THE FARMER'S BILL OF RIGHTS

WRITING in *Collier's* for October 4th, Mr. George Martin, who as editor of a farm paper believes that modern farming is an industry and should be run on an exact cost-finding basis, sets forth in summarized terms the demands that the American farmer is now making:

1. Subsidization of country schools by county, State, and nation, so farm children can live on the farm and still get a preparatory education admitting to college. As it is now, the children usually go to town to school and never come back.

2. Public recognition of the fact that the farmer is neither a capitalist nor a laborer, as we understand the terms, but the managing operator of a small business of which the home and family are integral parts.

3. Recognition of the fact that the American farmer, representing our largest and most fundamental industry, and as our greatest home builder, is entitled to an income comparable with his labor, his investment, and his managerial skill.

4. The assurance of this income, not by arbitrary price fixing nor by force, but by conference between producer, distributor, and consumer.

5. Requirement by law of minimum housing conditions on rented farms, maintained under a system of adequate inspection. This because, through lack of adequate finances, about half the acreage of our better lands is owned by "investors" and operated by "tenant-farmers." These tenant-farmers want to own their farms. They

deserve to. And they will. But meantime they want better living conditions as renters.

(In one county in Illinois 20 per cent of the farm lands are said to be owned by men who have never seen them, and who live on the Atlantic seaboard, collecting their rents through agents. A large "rental" estate in the Middle West recently raised the rents on some hundreds of thousands of acres of fertile prairie land to \$10 an acre, or about 2,000 per cent. annually of the original cost. But the agent is instructed that if the renter wants any improvements, a house or a pigpen, he must build it.)

6. The obligation to maintain and increase soil fertility, this obligation to be equally binding on landlord and tenant, and enforced by public license.

7. As between owner and operator, public support and sympathy be with the operator.

8. As between owner-operator, tenant, or speculator, public support and sympathy be with the owner-operator as the typical producer.

9. Elimination from the public mind of the feeling that tenantry is the ideal road to ownership.

10. Appropriation of public funds to finance young men in prospective ownership as soon as by thrift they have accumulated 10 per cent of the purchase price of productive lands.

11. The establishment of interest rates on funds loaned on land for home-building purposes that shall be based on those of the most favorable bond issues, not on current banking rates for short-term loans.

12. Discouragement of speculation in lands by means of graduated taxation and, if necessary,

the absolute prohibition of the individual accumulation of large numbers of farms. Real-estate speculation to be entirely disassociated from the production of the food of the people.

13. Recognition of agriculture as a matter of deep public concern, whether regarded as the machinery of the production of the people's food, or as the means of providing good conditions for the rearing of children.

14. The determination to maintain upon the land the same class of people as are those who constitute the prevailing type among the mass of American citizens.

To make plain the real basis of the farmer's unrest, Mr. Martin refers to a recent investigation made by the Niagara County fruit-growers, who discovered that their average labor income per man was only \$184 per year.

Take a typical case in Niagara County, which is a fair average for the country. A man has a farm valued at \$18,000. His expenses for the year are \$2900. His receipts are \$4000. He figures that he has made \$1100 during the year, and that this is not so bad. But he has not taken into account the capital invested. If he invested that \$18,000 elsewhere, he could easily get 4 per cent interest. If he borrowed it, he would probably pay 6 per cent. So take an average and say his invested capital earns 5 per cent. Five per cent of \$18,000 would be \$900. So his capital "earned" \$900 of that \$1100, and the man, working hard all year, earned only \$200. But, as I said, the average in Niagara County was only \$184. Applied to a group of farmers who are doing \$50,000,000 worth of business a year, as these men are, it is worthy of serious thought.

WHY THE GENERAL STRIKE FAILED IN ITALY

THE lessons to be learned from the failure of the recently attempted general strike in Italy are the theme of an article in *Rassegna Nazionale* by Signor R. Palmarocchi. At the outset, he notes that the enterprise was doomed to failure because of the unsympathetic attitude of the English and French workers, who disappointed the hopes and expectations of their Italian brethren.

The writer finds their inaction entirely justifiable, for the aim of the extremists who urged French participation in the Italian movement was to precipitate, in conjunction with the Russian and Hungarian radicals, first a general strike, and then a revolution leading to a dictatorship of the proletariat, such as had been established in Russia and Hungary.

While the Italian writer's sympathies are strongly with the proletariat, he nevertheless emphatically declares that the great mass of the workers were altogether in the right in refusing to pursue such a policy, for even the best Russian and Hungarian opinion sustains the view that nothing is better calculated to delay, or nullify, the realization of progressive reforms than is the employment of violent means for their attainment.

Moreover, apart from the theoretical merits of the case, Signor Palmarocchi does not believe that it would be possible to transplant Soviet government to Italian soil. The

Italian soul differs too radically from the Russian soul, and there is no resemblance between the Russian *moujik* and the Italian *contadino*. This difference extends to all the strata of society.

It would indeed be possible to realize one phase of the Russian movement, namely a dictatorship of the proletariat, which the Russians seek to justify by declaring it to be merely a transitory phase, a means and not an evil. But this is a delusion. All dictatorships begin in this way, but in a brief time they proclaim themselves to be finalities, and although it is quite true that a reaction is sure to set in before long, hardly anyone would be bold enough to favor a new form of government simply because it was sure to eventuate in a successful counter-revolution.

How inconsistent the performances of the Bolshevik rulers in Russia are with their professions is shown by the fact that as soon as their rule was fairly established they revived, with but slight modifications, most of the institutions of the old régime. The same thing would occur elsewhere, for any party which gains control of a nation becomes the inheritor of the century-old traditions of that nation. This constitutes a dilemma that the occidental socialists apparently fail to grasp. If the principle of authority is always wrong, whatever government may invoke it, and we are to expect the advent of an ideal political régime that has never yet been founded, then

this ideal régime should oppose the absolutism of the working class just as energetically as it does the domination of the capitalistic class.

If, on the other hand, it is just and proper that the state should be an incorporation of force, before it can become an incorporation of justice and liberty, then Lenin's experiment does not deserve condemnation, but at the same time his followers have no right to condemn the other European governments in his name.

The writer suggests that this dilemma can only be escaped by a frank declaration on the part of the extremists that their aim is to secure for their class the possession and management of the national wealth that is now held by another class. But in this case the proletariat simply appeals to the principle of force and the opposing classes have a right

to make the same appeal. It would be idle to invoke justice and right when the struggle is merely one between opposing interests.

All these contradictions arise from an abandonment of the principles of Christianity, from supplanting it by a creed that teaches only the satisfaction of material cravings. All governments that are founded in self-interest alone and not in justice, on utilitarianism and not on moral principles, are sure to degenerate into absolutism, whether aristocratic, capitalistic or proletarian. We are still too much under the influence of the war spirit, and just as we yielded a short time since to the illusion that all the national problems could be solved by a military victory, so we now think that social questions can be solved by the violent substitution of the rule of one class for that of another.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION LABOR UNION

A REPORT of the proceedings of the conference held at Amsterdam, Holland, from July 28th to August 2nd, to form a new International Federation of Trade Unions, is presented in the *American Federationist* (Washington, D. C.) for October. The president of the Dutch Federation of Labor in his address of welcome to the conference declared that the war was prepared for and caused by the capitalistic class, as such. Mr. Tobin, speaking for the American delegation, objected to this statement. He said:

We contend and we believe that the war was absolutely caused by the monarchical, militaristic system of Germany and Austria and will not subscribe to any other declaration made by the chairman of this convention. The United States forces, the British forces and the allies all combined have forever destroyed the systems that were responsible for that awful destruction of life and property and happiness.

The secretary's list showed fourteen countries, with ninety-two delegates, representing 17,740,000 members.

The question most bitterly contested before the conference was that of the voting power of the national trade-union centers. After a lengthy debate the following basis was adopted:

Each national trade-union center is entitled to one vote for 250,000 members or less.

Two votes from 250,000 to 500,000.

Three votes from 500,000 to 1,000,000.

And one vote for every 500,000, or fraction thereof, over and above 1,000,000.

The American delegation then insisted that this voting power should be applied immediately to the conference. This plan having been adopted, the voting strength of the conference was shown to be as follows:

Country	Membership	Votes
America	3,600,000	9
Great Britain.....	4,750,000	11
France	1,500,000	4
Belgium	450,000	2
Luxemburg	21,000	1
Germany	5,400,000	12
	60,000	1
Austria	500,000	2
Holland	223,000	1
	45,000	1
Switzerland	200,000	1
Sweden	235,000	1
Norway	122,000	1
Denmark	255,000	2
Spain	150,000	1
Czechoslovaks	230,000	1
Total		51

It was decided that a per capita tax of



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THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM

one-half of one cent per member per annum should be assessed on the membership of the federation. This would make the American contribution, basing the tax on 4,000,000

members, \$20,000 per annum. The three American delegates to the Amsterdam conference, were Samuel Gompers, Daniel J. Tobin and John J. Hynes.

THE NEW MOROCCO

NO REGION of the world has been the scene of more remarkable economic transformations within the past few years than Morocco—the land which Pierre Loti once described as “impenetrable to things that are new.” The war diverted the attention of the world at large from the beneficent changes in progress there under the French administration, but did not seriously interrupt the changes themselves. The story of “The Work of France in Morocco” is told in the *Geographical Review* (New York) by M. Alfred de Tarde, editor of *France-Maroc*, while elsewhere in the same journal we find a brief history of the successive stages of French penetration of the country. Both articles attest the fact that the thriving and progressive Morocco of to-day is mainly the work of one man, General Lyautey, who has held the office of resident general ever since the signing of the French protectorate treaty in 1912, except for four months, from December, 1916, to April, 1917, when he was on duty at the Ministry of War in Paris.

M. de Tarde says:

At the time when France took up the work of political and economic organization everything remained to be done—restoration of the disordered administration; establishment of the bases of economic development; installation of medical, educational, and other service; reform of the land system. At the same time peace had to be assured and a rebellious population pacified by the combined application of force and persuasion.

The task was immense in itself. It was rendered still more difficult by the course of external events. Two years after France had taken up her task the European war broke out. Should the work in Morocco be suspended? So some thought in the stress of the first days. There was a call for immediate abandonment of all the country except the coasts. But General Lyautey, with a clear outlook on the future, answered differently. He despatched to France the forces summoned for national defense, guaranteeing to hold Morocco with the remainder. As a protective shield he flung the last of these active troops to the borders of the pacified territory, trusting the peace of the interior to a policy of public works and general development.

This policy he has applied without relaxation since August, 1914. Its success is patent, for not only has Morocco remained peaceable during the war despite the efforts of German propaganda but the zone of pacification has been extended. Today the occupied area exceeds 250,000 square kilo-



From the *Geographical Review*, American Geographical Society, New York

meters where at the outbreak of the war it was 180,000 square kilometers.

That a conquering army may come as a blessing to an invaded country and not as a scourge is strikingly proved by the history of French military operations in Morocco. Step by step the borders of the "pacified" area have been pushed forward by troops which build roads and bridges, railways and telephone lines for the benefit of the native population, and which include in their ranks masons, carpenters, laborers, farmers, teachers and doctors.

One of the first tasks of the French was to build a main seaport at Casablanca and minor ports elsewhere. The former place is now provided with a fine, commodious harbor and its traffic is growing rapidly. When Casablanca is joined by rail with Oran and Tangier it will afford European travelers the means of shortening by several days the journey between the Old World and Central and South America. The construction of railways was at first hampered by certain treaty provisions, and at present most of the lines are narrow-gauge and intended primarily for military use; but a system of standard-gauge commercial lines has now been fully planned. Meanwhile great progress has been made in the construction of highways, which, with the introduction of automobiles, have been

one of the chief factors in opening up the country. The French authorities have devoted much attention to town-planning, and have engaged for this work the services of an expert, M. Prost, who lately drew up plans for the extension of the city of Antwerp.

The unrestrained tendency of the European town growing up beside the native town is to overshadow, to suffocate, and finally to replace its victim. To avoid this unfortunate sequence General Lyautey has laid down an absolute rule that the native and the European towns shall be separated, a plan adopted by the English in India. The policy is in accord with moral and hygienic principles. In an intimate mixture of two such dissimilar civilizations it is rather the vices than the virtues that flourish. On hygienic grounds the European should take up his residence away from those centers of infection, the Moroccan towns, with their narrow, dirty, ill-ventilated streets. In the town plans of the future the first care will be to set aside a strip of ground separating the European and native sections, and on this strip all building will be prohibited.

The author tells us that, with the example of European colonists before their eyes, the natives are rapidly adopting modern agricultural methods and machinery; that agricultural experiment stations and other agencies are introducing new crops, better adapted to the soil and climate than the old; that stock-breeding is being encouraged,

SANITATION AND WELFARE WORK AMONG STEEL EMPLOYEES

FOR several years the American Iron and Steel Institute has given special attention to matters of sanitation and hygiene among the workers in the steel industry throughout the country. The Institute is interested particularly in the prevention of accidents among the workers, in providing hospital and nursing facilities, in training for first aid to the injured, in the physical examination of employees, in the improvement of water supplies, washing facilities, toilet arrangements, drainage and sewerage disposal, in securing better housing and rest and recreation for the families of the steel workers, as well as for the men themselves, in securing warmer work places in winter and cooler in summer, and in various other measures designed to make the lot of the factory operative and his family more endurable.

Some of the accomplishments have been briefly sketched by Dr. Thomas Darlington, former Health Commissioner of New York City, who is now secretary of the Institute's Welfare Committee. He calls attention particularly to improved methods in the disposal of garbage and sewage, the abolition of steam pollution, and the drainage of back alleys and streets in workingmen's communities. Many steel plants have introduced systems for cooling the air in summer with a view to the prevention of heat stroke. Some of the steel

mills have succeeded in eliminating dust, which was formerly a fruitful source of tuberculosis germs. Gases produced by open fires where combustion is incomplete are now carried to the outside of the building. Many plants are now heated in winter by fresh air brought from the outside, filtered, warmed and distributed through the various parts of the building, free from dust and gases.

In the matter of first aid it is said that the steel industry leads all others for organized effort. Some years ago the surgeon of one of the largest companies reported a reduction of septic cases from 50 per cent. to one-tenth of one per cent.

The American steel industry also leads the world in the provision for the care of injured employees. The emergency hospitals erected near mines and mills have materially aided in reducing human suffering. Many lives have been saved by prompt care and the injured workman has full assurance that such care is the best that can be obtained. The industry also maintains a rest farm for the wives of employees who are in poor health. This farm is under the charge of a physician and a nurse. At settlement houses, supported by the industry, much attention is given to the women and children, particularly the babies. At these houses boys and girls are taught useful trades.

THE LYNCHING EVIL FROM A SOUTHERN STANDPOINT

BEGINNING with the assumption that lynching is a national evil, not confined to any one section of the country, but maintaining at the same time that this evil more vitally concerns the South than it does other parts of the country, because the greater number of lynchings occur there, Principal Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, sets forth in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, a representative Southern review, his views concerning the program that should be adopted to do away with the lynching evil throughout the South.

Having shown from official records that

the South, with about one-half the population of the North and West, had during the past thirty years more than seven times as many lynchings as the North and West combined, and also that the decrease of lynchings has been more rapid in other parts of the country than in the South, Major Moton expresses the opinion that lynching is the chief cause of unrest among negroes. Although white persons are often put to death by mobs, lynching is proved by the statistics to be more and more confined to negroes. In the recent extensive migrations of negroes from South to North lynching was the cause

most frequently stated. Beyond question it is one of the chief factors in making Southern negro labor unstable. Furthermore, it causes unrest among business, professional and property owning negroes who would naturally form the stabilizing forces in negro communities.

Major Moton concludes as the result of his own observations that this instability and unrest are tending to increase rather than to decrease, thereby greatly retarding the industrial and economic development of the South. While he believes that the South is going to need the negro as a laborer, even more in the future than she has in the past, there will be a greater demand for the negro in the North than there has been heretofore, because of the stoppage of immigration from Europe and the revival in the building industries and other lines that will follow the establishment of peace.

Major Moton notes with satisfaction the growth of sentiment in the South against lynching and the strong stand taken by such influential newspapers as the *Montgomery Advertiser*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *Houston Post*, the *Charlotte Observer*, the *Columbia State*, the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* and the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*. Southern white people in growing numbers are setting their faces against the

evil, speaking out and openly opposing it. A recent meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress, after strongly condemning mob rule as un-American and subversive of law and order, formulated the following program:

First, to carry on a ceaseless campaign of publicity through the public press;

Second, to send speakers to address conventions on this subject in order to enlist active support of religious, educational and other leaders;

Third, to carry on a thorough-going investigation of the causes of lynching upon the results of which will be worked out for the future a constructive program of education, legislation, and law enforcement.

Major Moton further reminds us that lynchings are now occurring for almost any cause, however trivial, that five women were lynched in 1918, and that only a small proportion of lynchings are for the "unmentionable crime." Only 25 per cent. of the persons put to death in 1918 were charged with that crime.

Believing that an important part of after-war reconstruction is to endeavor to reduce, and as far as possible to abolish every form of lawlessness, Major Moton holds that this is the most opportune time for a campaign to abolish an evil that is doing so much to hinder just and harmonious relations between the races.

THE REDEMPTION OF RUSSIA

IN the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* for September, M. Ph. Jeanneret handles with extreme frankness and vigor "The Bolshevik Army."

The description of the capture and defense of Kazan and the reluctant retreat from that city are described in terms which seem to indicate the writer's presence there:

Less than a year ago, this self-styled power was on the point of vanishing. Three thousand Czechs and Serbs, with 3000 Russians, rolled back the Red army. A few thousand more men could have captured it entire. Alas! Neither the French and English expected from the North, nor the Japanese heralded from the South, answered our call. What should have been the tomb and final death of Bolshevism proved its resurrection.

The whole movement is described as un-national, essentially foreign. As the chief leaders are named "the Jews, traditional sworn foes of Russian nationalism, and their

German allies." The criminal and potentially criminal city elements were their first followers. A radical agrarian reform was in any case due. The abolition of serfdom, a half-way measure, had left behind the communistic, or rather communal village unit, within which no tiller acquired full permanent ownership of soil. A rigid uniformity was everywhere compulsory. A man who planted a new fruit tree was a foe of social equality. But the reform, even the revolution, need not have been a bloody one. The peasants were incited to wholesale murder, that they might, as fellow-criminals, be securely chained to the Bolshevik juggernaut.

All classes of real Russians—the peasants, with their dream of "the Republic with a Czar," the loyal Monarchists, the intelligent democrats, or more extreme radicals—could be united, to destroy Bolshevism and revive Russia; but a leader must be found whose

name stands inspiring for that broadest patriotic purpose.

This fast-growing, diabolical newcomer, "who hides his gory hands in pockets stuffed by robbery," who "to keep his bark afloat on the floods of blood he has shed, calls on those he has helped to ruin to recognize him among the legitimate powers," must be destroyed, if there is ever to be peace on earth.

The anti-Bolshevist army must have three supreme, immediate, constructive aims:

(1) To set up a single leader representative of all forms of true Russian nationality.

(2) To assure to the peasants a land-tenure which will set them fully at work to feed the starving nation, and

(3) To restore religious freedom.

Only less immediate and vital is it

(1) To introduce real money, instead of the hopelessly debased and irredeemable paper.

(2) To open up to commerce the railroads and other highways, now useful only to troops.

(3) To obtain adequate food supplies for the nation. But the necessity is quite as urgent for the European victors in the war as for Russia herself.

Not to take to heart to-day the fate of Russia is to hand her over, bound hand and foot, to Germany, that, having infused the poison, wishes to reap her reward. Germany has lost her colonies; Russia would offset them. She has no empire on the seas; Russia will make an adequate one on the land. If Europe closes her own gates, Russia opens the portal of Asia.

The task will not be easy. "The giant should have been throttled in his childhood; but now he *must* be destroyed, before he becomes a Titan, a demon raging over all the earth."

When it comes to planning an actual campaign, all attacks from north or south are regarded as mere subsidiary flanking movements. The real base of attack must be in Siberia. A well-equipped army of a million and a half, with aeroplanes, tanks, high explosives, all the latest means of offensive action, must be created.

Rather curiously, this army is not, after all, described as primarily either Russian in race or made up of troops regularly drawn from the chief European allies!

Where shall the men be found to form the army to restore Russia?

1st, Japan, which will receive its compensations in Siberia.

2nd, America, which has every interest in taking a high hand in Russia.

3rd, Volunteers from all countries, who would receive a bit of land apiece, if they wished to settle on it.

4th, The Cossacks, who are still struggling for independence.

5th, The ex-officers of the Russian armies, formed in legions of their own.

6th, The Czechs.

7th, Volunteers from each province as it is liberated.

It will doubtless be agreed, by nearly all readers, that the very simplicity and vividness of this ideal program suggests that many problems, debatable questions, troublesome details, are kept out of view.

At the close, there recurs the question of the ideal leader. There still appears no doubt that he will be a Russian, who will bring in the happy day when "Russia, liberated from Bolshevism, grateful for her salvation, shall become the friend of the nations which Germany had desired to supplant."

The writer neither names nor points toward this glorious leader. Perhaps it would be difficult to do so.

THE RUMANIAN PRESS ON RUMANIA'S INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY

ACCORDING to Rumanian newspapers recently received, the administration of Premier I. I. C. Bratianu seemed to have enjoyed the confidence of the entire nation during the military operations in Hungary and the occupation of Budapest by the Rumanian troops.

The *Universul* (the "Universe", of

Bucharest), the most popular and independent Rumanian newspaper, remarks editorially that "the entrance of the Rumanian army in Budapest marks the triumph of organized statesmanship against chaotic Bolshevism," and that "Rumania has performed not only a national duty in conquering the Hungarian army of Bela Kun, but also an

international service in warding-off the danger of Bolshevism in Central Europe".

The *Viitorul* (the "Future"), organ of the Liberal party (governmental), makes the following statements in an editorial entitled "Rumania's Policy—A Resolute Policy":

The foreign policy of Rumania, which had taken a new direction since the crown council held at Sinaia in summer 1914, when the European war broke out, has been in all its manifestations from that time to the present day a frank, loyal, and resolute policy toward the Allies. Our entrance into the war on August 27, 1916, on the side of the Allies, has proved indeed the loyalty of the Rumanian policy, so that thereafter every gesture and action confirmed the fact that we have followed that direction, however great and hard were the sacrifices which multiplied themselves gradually.

And further, the same paper remarks:

Our policy has been resolute as regards all sacrifices, especially when, coming into the war, we first put the problem of the dismemberment of Austria of which the Allies had not then thought. Again, this policy had been resolute in the spring of 1917, when we knew how to resist alone, after the Russian treachery and defection, against the invading waves of the enemy. It had been also a resolute policy in the autumn of 1918, when we again took up arms against the common enemy.

Upon the receipt of the note of the Supreme Council regarding requisitions made by the Rumanian military command at Budapest (in August 27), the Rumanian Press Bureau issued the following statement of facts: "The German-Hungarian army of occupation exported from Rumania between December 1, 1916, and October 10, 1918, 3,705,148 tons of merchandise. This represented 2,161,905 tons of foodstuffs and forage, 1,140,809 tons of petroleum and mineral oil and 433,434 tons of raw material."

This statement, based upon figures computed from German and Austro-Hungarian documents, has been reproduced by all Rumanian newspapers, including those of the opposition (the Conservative and the Democratic parties). To this has been added the statement made by Count Czernin, the former Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, at the time of the Peace of Bucharest, the treaty forced upon Rumania by the Germans in April, 1918: "I have obtained from Rumania on the harvest of the last year over 70,000 tons of cereals. The surplus of the new harvest, which will be divided between us and Germany, will procure us probably



THE RUMANIAN CHAMPION CUTTING OFF THE THREE HEADS OF THE DRAGON TO FREE EUROPE

From *Hojas Selectas* (Barcelona, Spain)

40,000 tons more of cereals, vegetables, and forage. Moreover, Rumania cedes us 300,000 muttons and 100,000 hogs which will be delivered now."

The *Dacia*, an independent newspaper edited by two well known literary men, comments as follows on the Allies' note:

Reading with attention the last note of the Allies—which does not differ at all from the preceding notes as regards requisitions in Hungary and the "common pledge" of the Allies concerning the goods of the enemy—it is impossible not to feel a deep deception about all the generous formulas that have been agitated over the battlefields. One has a feeling that the anger of the great Allies has come only from the fear that the "common pledge" in Hungary might be swallowed up by the Rumanians. Otherwise the tone of the preceding notes has disappeared from that of yesterday. This time one speaks in pure commercial terms; it is demanded the establishment of the balance of all indemnities and requisitions effected on Magyar territory, which will be taken into account afterward at the treaty of peace with Hungary. From the general and generous formulas, from the first note of indignation and violence toward us, we have arrived at a bill which is presented to us in a cold business manner, after having declared that we shall pay. While we seek in part reparation for the sufferings of the old war, and of the new one which has been forced upon us by the Bolshevik régime

at Budapest, the Allies seek everywhere the realization of the "common pledge."

Although the public opinion in Rumania was unanimous as regards military intervention against the Hungarian Bolsheviks who had invaded Rumanian territory, there are, however, a few notes of disapproval to be found in a part of the Rumanian press concerning the conditions under which such an

intervention has taken place. Thus the *Adeverul* (the "Truth")—independent but openly opposed to the Liberal party of Mr. Bratianu—remarks that "the Rumanian government has made a mistake in embarking upon a policy which has not the full approval of the great powers." The Democratic party, under the leadership of Mr. Take Ionescu, has taken also a critical attitude toward the actions of the government.

FRANCE'S NEW ELECTORAL LAW

IT IS planned to hold general elections in France within the next few months, although Premier Clemenceau had refused to fix a precise date until after ratification of the Peace Treaty by the Chamber of Deputies. It will be remembered that the members now serving were elected in May, 1914, for four years only; and that their terms of office have been prolonged through the exigencies of war. One of the first duties of the new Chamber—in which the Senate will share—will be the selection of a successor to President Poincaré, whose seven-year term expires in January.

While Clemenceau was presiding at the Peace Conference, the Deputies framed and adopted an electoral reform bill (becoming a law on July 12, 1919) modifying a system which dated back to 1885. The periodical *La France*, (New York) undertakes to explain for Americans the significance of the changes, in an article by its Paris correspondent.

We are reminded first of the old system, the so-called "single name" or "district" ballot, which had in turn—thirty years ago—displaced a system under which each elector voted for as many Deputies as the entire Department was to elect.

The writer in *La France* asks and answers the question, Why was electoral reform necessary? He states two reasons—the first, gradual abuse of the "district" ballot; the second, a new conception of the rights of the minority.

Under abuses the writer mentions: improper pressure by wealthy or influential candidates; a subordination of national interests to those of small districts; and the breaking-up of parties, which has rendered French ministries notoriously unstable, dependent as they are upon the confidence of

the Chamber.

The second reason for change had been to guard the rights of minorities. Under the old system, in a close electoral district a majority of one vote was sufficient to elect—10,000 voters, for example, might be represented and 9,999 who favored a losing candidate might be without representation at all. The new system includes proportional representation, based upon larger voting districts. We quote the French author's supposititious case:

Suppose that we take an electoral district representing 100,000 voters, having to elect ten deputies and suppose that 50,000 votes would be for A, 30,000 votes for B and 20,000 votes for C; how would this electoral district be represented under the system of proportional representation? The number of voters would be divided by the number of deputies to be chosen. The quotient of this division would be 10,000; therefore, to each list would be given as many deputies as it is contained in the electoral quotient; that is to say: Party A would have 5 deputies, party B, 3 deputies, and party C, 2 deputies. All the parties are thus represented in proportion to their numerical strength.

Suppose, on the other hand, that the elections would be held according to the "majority" ballot; Party A would have elected 10 deputies; Party B and Party C would not have been represented at all. It can thus be seen that a proportional representation tends to bring mathematically exact justice into the elections.

Through the application of these changes in the French electoral system, it is hoped that the power of one man over an electoral district will cease; that voters will be forced to declare themselves on political programs and not on individuals; that the right of minorities will be exercised; and that the party obtaining the absolute majority of votes will likewise obtain the absolute majority of all representatives.

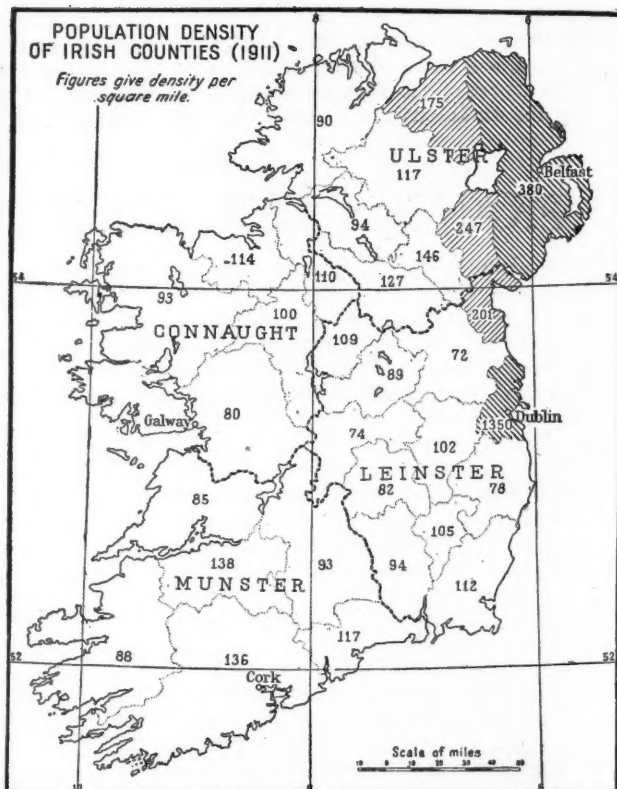
GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE IRISH QUESTION

PROFESSOR W. R. McCONNELL, who occupies the chair of geography at Miami University, conducts at that institution a class in political geography in which a part of the students' time is devoted to working out the geographic factors involved in current international questions. As an example of this type of work, he presents in the *Journal of Geography* (New York) a paper dealing with the Irish Question from the geographical point of view. The geographic factor in such a question is not, of course, easily separable from economic, historical and other factors, and Professor McConnell has not attempted to draw any sharp line between them. He begins with the all-important subject of population:

Population has been on the decline and economic conditions have been decadent in Ireland since the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1845 over 8,000,000 people lived in Ireland. This was an overpopulation for a nonindustrial people employing such methods and type of tillage as obtained. Extreme dependence on the potato caused a cataclysm when the potato harvests failed. Famine, eviction, emigration was the tragic sequence to the failure of 1845-47. The population has dwindled since then until today it is but little over 4,000,000. England has eight times as many people as Ireland and is over six times as densely populated.

Ireland, it is said, is separated from Great Britain by a "sundering strait"; Ireland, it is further said, faces the Atlantic Ocean. Let us look further into these statements. In no place is the shallow Irish Sea which separates Ireland from Great Britain more than 140 miles wide, and in the narrowest part it is only 13 miles. The nearness of Ireland to Great Britain as compared with its nearness to any other market or source of raw material or power makes it inevitable that its life and development be intimately related to the country which it feels to be the cause of its economic backwardness.

The population map of Ireland shows that the densely populated portion of the island is the side



nearest to England. This is by far the best endowed part of the country. The central lowland borders the Irish Sea on the east while westward the mountains of Connaught practically cut it off from the Atlantic. This central plain with its limestone soil and fertile glacial clay, comprising the richest agricultural section of Ireland, thus has its outlet not on the Atlantic but on the Irish sea, towards England. Furthermore this sea border of the lowland faces the Lancashire-Cheshire plain: Dublin is in direct line with the Cheshire Gap.

Eastern Ireland has much level land suited to agriculture and a rainfall favorable for the growth of cereals. The coast line of the Irish Sea has good natural harbors on which are built Ireland's large cities. Western Ireland, on the other hand, has much rough land, poor soil, and too much rainfall for successful agriculture. In many places the rugged land borders the Atlantic with perpendicular cliffs, and there is a dearth of good harbors. For these reasons western Ireland is much less prosperous than the side bordering the Irish Sea. Connaught contains more waste

land than any other province. Thus the economic life of Ireland leads toward England and through England.

The unity of Great Britain is in no wise built on uniformity. The different physical units, such as the highlands of northern Scotland, the lowlands of south-central Scotland, the highlands of Wales, and the plains of England, have served as more or less well-defined units for the development of people with different ideas and ideals, of different racial origins and different languages, and of different modes of life.

SIGN-POSTS FOR DESERT TRAVELERS

THE vast tract of arid plains, once known as the "Great American Desert," which opposed so formidable a barrier to transcontinental voyagers in the days of the "prairie schooner," is still an economic handicap to the nation and the scene of tragic adventures. With the advent of automobiles in the Far West history is, to a certain extent, repeating itself. The situation is described by Mr. H. C. Hardy in the *Scientific American*:

Just as it did decades ago, when the tide of our fearless pioneers moved persistently westward, this expanse of desert still stands directly athwart the lines of railways and the roads of motor vehicles feeding northward and eastward for hundreds of miles from the land of plenty to the far less favored sections in sister States. Now, more than ever, is it essential that the crossing of this inhospitable tract, this realm of awful dryness, be robbed as much as possible of its menacing nature. The motor truck as an aid to intercommunication, as a medium in lessening the cost of living, must, more and more, traverse the interposed desert sweep; and this the power vehicle cannot do unless water be available at convenient points en route. Not only that, but the welfare of passengers and those in charge of this service is equally dependent upon the certainty of finding a sufficiency of water along these highways.

Just as in the Sahara there are oases, with their springs and wells, so in the arid regions of our Southwestern States there are numerous spots that yield enough water for the traveler's needs, once he succeeds in finding them. But unfortunately these places are not so conspicuous as the palm-studded oases of the African wastes. Many a wayfarer has died of thirst within a few hundred yards of a spring or a water-hole, hidden in the scanty growth of desert vegetation or concealed in a dip of the land. Moreover, little attention has heretofore been paid to keeping these watering-places in serviceable condition.

Lastly, it is pointed out that Ireland occupies a strategic position with respect to England, the defense of which is vital to British interests. Napoleon planned to attack England by way of Ireland, and Germany entertained similar projects in the late war. Moreover, "an independent Ireland would need forts and navy yards and a strong land and sea force—defensive measures that she lacks the wealth and man power to provide."

The pioneer in remedying this state of affairs was Mr. George W. Parsons, of Los Angeles, who bestirred the lawmakers of California to plant sign-posts in the deserts of that state.

Carrying his humane propaganda farther, he finally induced Congress three years ago to make a modest appropriation looking to still wider work in surveying and marking desert watering places throughout the entire tract, which also concerns Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico. Mr. Parsons had previously learned by his own experience what it meant to put up with a lack of water in those parched lands; and as a qualified prospector he was keenly alive to the potential value of the mineral wealth located in that vast area. So long as the available water holes were allowed to be contaminated by the heedless or their whereabouts were known to but a comparatively few persons, Mr. Parsons was conscious of the fact that every stranger courted death when he ventured afar into that austere domain.

By act of Congress, approved August 21, 1916, \$10,000 was appropriated and the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to use that sum as far as it would permit in discovering, protecting, and rendering more accessible to the traveler the water to be found on the arid public lands of the United States; and, after doing this, to erect and to maintain suitable and durable monuments and signboards, placed at intervals along and near the accustomed lines of travel over the desert, so that persons traversing the territory should be able to reach by the shortest routes the nearest springs, streams or water holes.

As far as that modest grant permitted, the field parties of the United States Geological Survey did their share, and, in addition, used some of the regular allotment made to the survey for the purpose of investigating ground water conditions. The region surveyed last year occupied about 60,000 square miles in southern California and southwestern Arizona, representing only a small percentage of the entire area that should be covered in this manner. In California, the section embraces the southern part of Death Valley and the country between this valley and the Mexican border; while the desert area so dealt with in Arizona includes the portion west of Tucson and Phoenix and south of Wickenburg and Parker. This district was purposely selected because it is

said to be the driest, the hottest, and the least explored tract of the desert realm, and also because of the strategic importance of obtaining information about the possible water supplies along a stretch of 350 miles of the national frontier adjacent to Mexico.

As a result of these activities, signs directing travelers to water were erected at 167 localities in California and at 138 in Arizona.

The signposts that now serve as heartening guides to water along the arid highways, over which the volume of traffic is steadily increasing, stand 12 feet high and are painted white so that they may be seen from afar. The uprights are of galvanized iron 1.9 inches in outside diameter, and the signboards, of 18-gage steel, galvanized, have their lettering marked upon them in dark blue. These boards are of two sizes, 18 x 20 inches and 9 x 20 inches, depending upon whether they bear directions to two or four watering

places. Each post is anchored in the ground by means of two redwood blocks. The task so far completed is merely a part of a comprehensive plan which calls for the mapping and marking of the watering places in the entire arid region lying east of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Mountains and west of a line running approximately from eastern Oregon through Salt Lake City and Santa Fe down to the mouth of the Pecos River.

The U. S. Geological Survey estimates that the cost of carrying out similar work over the remainder of the desert area of 570,000 square miles will not exceed \$100,000, which works out only about \$8 per township. This will be a trifling expenditure compared with the benefits which the undertaking is expected to confer.

THE NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR

AN interesting sketch of Viscount Grey of Fallodon, the new British Ambassador to the United States, from the pen of Willis J. Abbot, appears in *Collier's* for October 4.

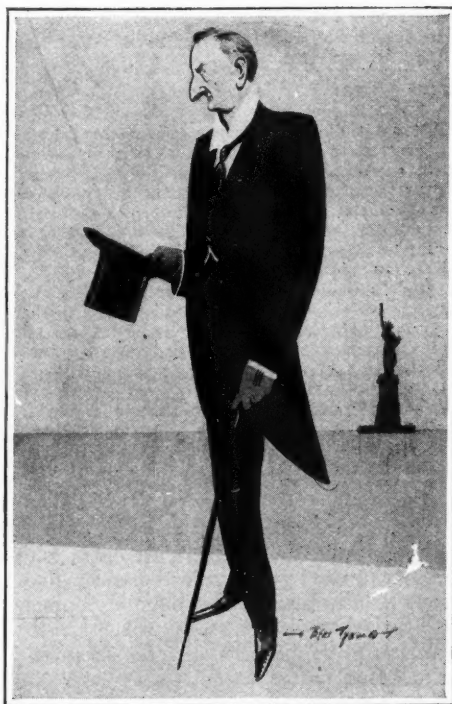
The new Ambassador has been characterized as "the most English Englishman in all England," and certain of the qualities described by Mr. Abbot—notably his liking for an outdoor life, his reticence and self-repression—seem to go far to justify such a characterization.

For instance, the autobiographical sketch contributed to the English "Who's Who?" says nothing about his achievements during his long direction of the British Foreign Office, but gravely records as personal matters of importance the facts that he owns 2000 acres of land, that he once won a prize in a national tennis tournament, and that he has written a book on fly-fishing.

Mr. Abbot reminds us that in 1910 Viscount Grey and Colonel Roosevelt spent a day of ardent nature worship and the study of English birds in the New Forest. Colonel Roosevelt wrote of this occasion later:

As I could snatch but a few hours from a very exacting round of pleasures and duties, it was necessary for me to be with some companion who could identify both song and singers. In Sir Edward Grey, a keen lover of outdoor life in all its phases, and a delightful companion, who knows the songs and ways of English birds as few do, I found the best possible guide.

To a correspondent who had asked him



LORD GREY OF FALLODON

By Bert Thomas in the *World* (London)

concerning his companion's knowledge of bird lore Sir Edward replied that he (Colonel Roosevelt) recognized the British birds by their note with extraordinary accuracy.

Mr. Abbot notes the fact that this intimate excursion of the two statesmen took place only a day or two after Colonel Roosevelt's delivery of his Guild Hall speech, which was supposed to have shocked the British Government by its references to Egypt. It has since developed, however, that the speech had been shown to Kitchener, Balfour, Cromer, and probably to Sir Edward Grey himself in advance of its delivery.

It may be safely assumed that one of the chief reasons for Viscount Grey's appointment to the Washington Embassy was his sturdy and long-continued advocacy of the

League of Nations. At an earlier date he had been strongly in favor of an Anglo-American understanding and is said to have been the first public man in England to extend a hearty approval to President Taft's suggestion of an arbitration treaty between the two nations. He ranks as the leading diplomat of Europe to-day, both in duration of service and in actual attainments. Among Englishmen only Arthur J. Balfour may be said to hold equal diplomatic rank. Great Britain has paid this country the highest possible compliment by the selection of Viscount Grey as her Ambassador to Washington.

CINEMA-MICROSCOPY: AN ADJUNCT OF THE CLASSROOM



American Museum Journal

CINEMAPHOTOGRAPHS OF THE LIVING CHICK EMBRYO

(Microcinematograph of a forty-eight-hour-old chick embryo, together with its vascular area dissected from the egg yolk. The embryo has been placed in a culture medium where it is kept alive for many hours while the rhythmical action of the heart and the circulation of the blood are photographed. This illustrates the possibilities of the motion-picture machine in reproducing physiological processes for educational purposes. The heart is seen in the embryo as an external bulblike organ near the center of the animal. The dark vessels are the vitelline arteries and their branches, while the lighter are the various branches of the venous system. Magnification 120 diameters)

STEP by step the beneficent possibilities of the cinematograph are revealing themselves. Motion pictures of many kinds

are already well known in the classroom, but moving microphotographs appear to be a new departure, only now in process of realization. The pedagogic value of such pictures is obvious. In discussing this subject in *Natural History* (New York), Mr. Charles F. Herm, a physiologist attached to the American Museum of Natural History, says:

Cinema-microscopy is a great need of the future; many colleges and schools are eager to introduce its results in their class rooms because they realize that no other device equals it for conveying a lecture or experiment. But at present where and how are schools to get films of such a character—films on microscopical subjects, strictly educational, having technical qualities, and produced by specialists just as textbooks are written and edited by specialists?

The production of a film textbook of zoology, physiology, or botany which contains hundreds of short reels or subjects, scientifically correct, up to the highest standard of learning, correlating with the approved textbooks, has so far not been a commercial success, owing perhaps to the lack of specialists, the large expense involved, and certain limitations of the subject. The public undoubtedly is interested; the secondary schools and colleges would welcome aid of this kind and it remains for some large educational institutions to establish a micro-cinema laboratory for the production of such negatives.

In many colleges, in medical schools, and even in certain classes of high schools, it is important to demonstrate the living phenomena as closely as possible; sketches, wall charts, or still photographs do not show the different movements and the results of experiments; they do not show the technique of the experimenter or the accompanying reactions of the organism such as the beating of the heart, the circulation of the blood, and the acceleration of respiration.

But by means of the cinematograph the most

delicate operation can be recorded and all its details reproduced with the utmost precision. At the same time this wonderful instrument will save many hours of tedious laboratory routine which could be used to far greater advantage in original research. On the other hand, cinematography will widen the teaching power of any single experiment or demonstration, and become the greatest of all teachers.

A film illustrating some important biological process can be reproduced in any desired number of copies for use in different institutions. It can be displayed at any desired speed before any number of pupils, enabling the teacher to demonstrate each fact deliberately and repeatedly.

The author thus describes his own experiments in cinema-microscopy:

My interest in this work has arisen through laboratory researches on living tissue in the department of physiology at the American Museum of Natural History. In collaboration with Mr. Alessandro Fabbri, research associate in physiology in the American Museum, who is much interested in biological cinematography, there has been prepared a microscopical film 1200 feet long, on the physiology of the heart and the circulation of the blood in the chick embryo. This work was done in the private laboratory of Mr. Fabbri,—a laboratory completely equipped with all facilities for the highest grade of cinematography.

The physiology of the heart and the circulation of the blood have attracted the attention of investigators from very early times. Far back in 1616 scientists studied them. William Harvey was the first to grasp the fact that the heart acted as a force pump to drive the blood in a circle through the blood vessels and back. Since the time of Harvey, however, physiological technique has been remarkably improved. Many methods have been discovered to demonstrate the general function of the heart and vascular system. But not until cinema-microscopy attracted the attention of modern physiologists, has it been possible publicly to demonstrate the finer details of this phenomenon.

In the film which has been made, the first scene demonstrates the necessity of carefully marking

on the shell of the egg the date and hour when it is placed in the laboratory incubator, in order to obtain an embryo of known age. A constant temperature of 103 degrees Fahrenheit is maintained.

The second illustrates how, after forty-eight hours, the egg is removed from the incubator and, after being carefully opened, is placed in a glass dish, embryo and vascular area uppermost. The vascular area, with its embryo, is now dissected from the yolk and transferred to a large culture chamber, which is sealed with a cover glass by means of hot paraffin and placed under the micro-cinematographic apparatus.

We see the entire living embryo, forty-eight hours old, demonstrating the circulation in the vascular area. The circulatory system of the young chick consists of branching tubes, the arteries coming from the heart, which is now outside of the body. Dividing into a fine network of capillaries in the vascular area, these vessels reunite into a large vein which carries the blood back to the heart at the opposite side.

The picture shows the heart as a muscular organ which rhythmically contracts, decreasing its volume, and thereby driving out the blood which has flowed into it during the period of relaxation.

The subject of the fourth scene is the heart of a living embryo thirty-three hours old, showing its first rhythmical activity and the course of the blood in the transparent heart cavity during contraction.

Another film has also been constructed in collaboration with Mr. Fabbri, emphasizing the behavior of transplanted heart muscle. Many experiments have been made in transplanting heart muscles into a tissue culture to determine the conditions which will prolong their life and function. The heart of a chick embryo will beat rhythmically from six to ten days after having been removed from the animal and transplanted in blood plasma. But if tissues are retransplanted from time to time into a fresh culture, it is known that the muscles will live for more than sixty days.

In the picture we see the transplanted heart of an embryo eight days old, which is still beating rhythmically after six days of transplantation; also a section of heart muscle fifty times magnified showing its rhythmical activity ten days after transplantation.

THE ISLAND OF YAP, AMERICA, AND THE FAR EAST

FOR the first time in its history the little island of Yap, in the Caroline group, formerly belonging to Germany, has emerged as a center of worldwide interest.

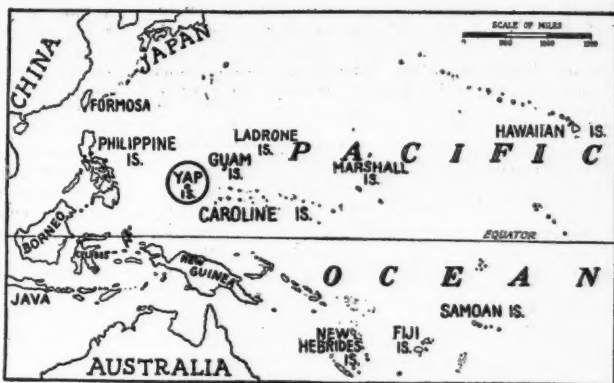
While the German islands north of the equator went to Japan under a mandatory, it appears that President Wilson had stipulated in framing the Peace Treaty for American

control of Yap, in order to secure the maintenance there of a station of the Commercial Pacific Cable Company. From Shanghai the cable is laid direct to Yap, where it joins the main trunk line between San Francisco and Celebes. The island of Guam, also a cable station and an American possession, is about 500 miles northeast of Yap. Manila,

another American possession, is about 1200 miles northwest of Yap. *Millard's Review*, of Shanghai, for September 6, is interested in the final disposition of the cable station. This journal states that American business in China for the last two years has been sadly handicapped by the cable situation:

In many cases it has been quicker to send cables by mail than by submarine wire. Now several months after the close of the war, the situation is still intolerable. Delays average from six to fifteen days. "Urgent" messages from which merchants have paid triple price (and are only allowed one a day) require two and three days. The wireless service is still new and uncertain and is congested with official government business. Managers of responsible American firms in Shanghai maintain that their businesses last year would have been at least a third larger in volume had the cables been up to pre-war strength. At least a half dozen American firms claim that they have lost business running from one to three million dollars in the last six months because of the cable delays.

The cable delay is not the worst of the trouble. The cable is often out of business because of



THE ISLAND OF YAP IN RELATION TO OTHER PACIFIC TERRITORY

breakage. Sometimes the break is "just off" the China coast and has been charged to Chinese pirates. "Who instigates these pirates?" At other times the breaks occur in deep sea near Guam. This trouble did not prevail before the war. Now it is the regular thing. Japanese merchants in Shanghai benefit in almost equal proportion to the discomfiture of American firms. They have good cable service between China and Japan and use their wireless between Japan and the Pacific Coast. They also use their ship wireless in getting their business across to their American connections.

MEDICAL EDUCATION IN CHINA

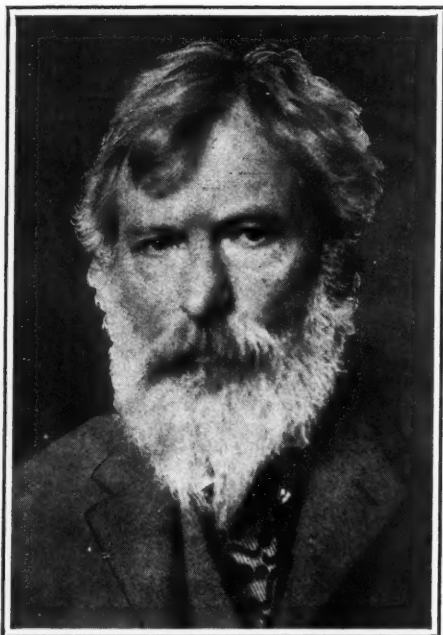
A GROUP of green-roofed buildings now in course of erection in the city of Peking will shelter modern apparatus to be used for the promotion of a comprehensive system of medical education in China. These buildings are to be occupied on completion by the Union Medical College, maintained by the Rockefeller Foundation. As described in the *Trans-Pacific* (Tokio, Japan) by Elizabeth S. Allen, these college buildings are of Chinese design, built largely of Chinese materials by Chinese workmen. The style of architecture adopted is pleasing to Chinese and Western taste alike.

The main building contains the administration offices and the chemistry departments. The walls of this and similar buildings are grey brick, with green window frames, carrying out the color of the roofs, and are decorated along the eaves with harmonious painted designs. On either side facing in on the court are two similar buildings devoted to anatomy and physiology, respectively. These three buildings will be ready for use in the fall. Covered galleries connect these halls, while a third passage leads back across the compound to

the second group, which centers round a four-story edifice of similar design, the outpatients' building. Its wings, the surgical and medical wards, contain 75 beds each. Through another passage to the east one enters the pathology building. In the basement is located a refrigerating plant capable of holding six months' supplies. Back of these buildings stand the animal storage house for research work and the power house, containing central heating and electric plants, ice plant and a modern steam laundry. On the west leading into the outpatients' building opens the hospital entrance gate, with a large circular court, through which ambulance patients will be brought on the basement level into the admittance rooms, where they will be examined and sent up by elevators to the east or the west wing. On the south of the hospital court stands the hospital administration building, containing the gymnasium and hydro-therapeutic department. Through this building a passage leads to the private patients' building with accommodations for about thirty. To the north of the hospital compounds stands the nurses' home, containing rooms for seventy women nurses, dining-hall, diet laboratories and class rooms for the training school.

At some future date three more buildings will be added to those now under construction—a tuberculosis ward, an isolation building and a children's ward.

THE DEAN OF AMERICAN MAGAZINE EDITORS



THE LATE HENRY MILLS ALDEN

AFTER fifty years of continuous service as editor of *Harper's Magazine*, Mr. Henry Mills Alden died on October 7 last at the age of eighty-three.

Commenting on the fact that the veteran editor successfully conducted his magazine through a half-century of social changes and shiftings of literary tastes, a writer in the *New York Evening Post* recalls a letter written by Mr. Alden twenty-five years ago, in which he said:

"We who are growing older and whose taste was formed in another world may prefer our old models. But everything changes, and the new generation, if it is to be reached at all, must be reached just where it is, irrespective of the whereabouts and individual tastes of its venerable editor."

One of Mr. Alden's more recent associates in the editorial rooms, Mr. Thomas B. Wells, said in the *Brooklyn Eagle*:

He never seemed to lose his grip on things, said Mr. Wells, despite his age, he kept in touch with all new movements in literature up to the end. This was true from the time when I first met him—he was then 65—until his active service as editor ended. In his later years, though he would be reading a considerable volume of manuscripts for the magazine, he would still find time to read all the important new fiction and philosophy. If someone whose opinion he valued advised him to read a new book he would send for it at once. He never seemed to lose his freshness of vision and enthusiasm.

Mr. Wells was also impressed by his venerable chief's breadth of mind and scholarship:

Although his education was wholly classical and had touched but in the most elementary way on the sciences, he could write the most remarkably well-informed letters to the leading scientists of the period in regard to articles or matter they might be undertaking for the magazine. His letters to these men never failed to produce just the articles he wanted.

Regarding Mr. Alden's editorial methods, a colleague of twenty years ago, Mr. John Corbin, says in the *New York Times Book Review* for October 19:

Of all the thousands of manuscripts that flowed through his office, he was the first reader. I have never heard a more majestic scorn than he threw into the soft tones with which he spoke of editors who intrust the sifting of manuscripts to recent graduates and young women. He had Macaulay's faculty of reading a whole page at a glance; and he highly approved the saying that one taste of an egg is enough to show that it is bad. But for a new idea, the touch of a fresh and authentic temperament, he had a sense that seemed positively clairvoyant.

His final test of the value of an article of story was whether it was "vital"—whether it touched the few deep and permanent springs of human life and progress. The romance of young love, the perplexities of married life, incidents of fatherhood and motherhood, matters of business conduct, the manly strife for means and power, the affairs of state, and the instinct for the future of the nation—a magazine that deals with these has no need of "features." It will move the world quite quietly, but with the inevitability of all natural forces. "The seed of the pine is very small," he used to say, "and its growth is slow; but lodge it in the soil of a fissure, and it will rend the face of the cliff."

THE NEW BOOKS

THE EPIC OF ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children. Ill. Scribner's.

Nothing from Mr. Roosevelt's pen could possibly give so full a revelation of the man in his human relationships as these letters to his own family, written during a period of ten years. The revelation is all the more complete because it is unconscious. It was never imagined by the writer that they would some day be published. They were written in moments of a father's busy life simply to amuse, direct and inspire his children. There is nothing like them in print. Like their author they are unconventional, unaffected, and sincere. Moreover, they are infused with a great practical wisdom. Young and old alike may profit from them.

Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt. By Lawrence F. Abbott. Ill. Doubleday, Page & Co.

The list of Roosevelt books is growing rapidly and we cannot at this time do more than briefly indicate a few of the more important titles. In a subsequent number we shall treat them in greater detail. For more than a decade Mr. Abbott enjoyed the most intimate personal and business relations with the former President. In this volume he does more than the title of his book implies, for he not only states his own impressions, but he puts on record facts, many of which have not before been adequately presented and some of which have been distorted in one way or another by earlier publications. His account

of Mr. Roosevelt's famous Guildhall speech is a significant chapter of rewritten history.

Bill Sewall's Story of T. R. Ill. Harper and Brothers.

Mr. Hermann Hagedorn (whose account of the Roosevelt Memorial Week appears elsewhere in this REVIEW) saw the value of the old Maine guide's recollections of his lifelong friend and induced him to give his simple narrative for publication. It is well that he did this for "Bill" Sewall, better than any other man living, knew the story of Mr. Roosevelt's early Western experiences and his testimony to his friend's hardihood and bravery bears every mark of earnestness and truth.

Theodore Roosevelt: an Intimate Biography. By William Roscoe Thayer. Ill. Houghton, Mifflin.

This volume forms perhaps the nearest approach to a biography among the books devoted to Roosevelt that have been published since his death. It is admirable in literary form and seeks to give proper perspective to the successive phases in the career of its subject. The author was college classmate of Mr. Roosevelt and in later years, while preparing the authorized biography of John Hay, he became familiar with the period during which the Roosevelt family occupied the White House.

OTHER BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral. By Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske. The Century Company. 693 pp. Ill.

This autobiography of Rear-Admiral Fiske is doubly interesting to the American public because of the distinctive and distinguished naval career of the author. A record of forty-nine years in the American navy, culminating in such honors as have come to Admiral Fiske, could not fail to be worth reading. But in this case the story is not merely one of ordinary sea service with such limited opportunity for adventure as came to the American naval officer during the forty years preceding the outbreak of the Great War, but it includes achievements of a most unusual kind in the field of naval and military invention. Not only the United States Navy but the navy of every one of the great powers of the world is to-day a debtor to Admiral Fiske for marked increase in power and efficiency. Perhaps no other man in the world can be named to-day who has done so much to increase the power of navies. His range-

finder and gun-director system are among the best known of these inventions, but numberless technical developments in naval warfare that were employed during the recent war were equally the product of Admiral Fiske's professional skill and initiative.

The Career of Leonard Wood. By Joseph Hamblen Sears. D. Appleton & Company. 272 pp. Ill.

This is a timely and useful sketch of the varied activities of General Wood as soldier, organizer, administrator, and exhorter to patriotic service. Twenty years ago General Wood made an excellent record as Governor of Cuba which the country has not yet forgotten, and as a military authority he has for years commanded the respect of the statesmen and soldiers of Europe. His efforts to awaken the country to the need of preparedness during years preceding our entry into the Great War are fresh in the memory of all.

My Generation. An Autobiographical Interpretation. By William Jewett Tucker. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 464 pp. Ill.

The title of this volume by Dartmouth's President Emeritus is peculiarly apt, for throughout the book Dr. Tucker interprets for the reader the motives and movements of his time. His autobiography is anything but controversial in tone, although he himself was for a considerable period of his life an active figure in the controversies involved in the progressive movement of theology that made New England its chief fighting ground. This, however, was succeeded by his presidency at Dartmouth, during which the college entered on a period of remarkable expansion. This portion of Dr. Tucker's book is a distinct contribution to modern educational history.

The Life and Letters of James Monroe Taylor. By Elizabeth Hazelton Haight. E. P. Dutton & Company. 391 pp. Ill.

One of Dr. Bartlett's contemporaries was the late President James Monroe Taylor, of Vassar College, who died in 1916 after a service of nearly

thirty years. This biography has been written by Professor Elizabeth H. Haight, who had collaborated with Dr. Taylor in the well-known history of Vassar. A feature of the work is the great number of Dr. Taylor's letters which serve in their own way to reveal the writer's spirit and purpose in his work.

A Labrador Doctor. The Autobiography of Wilfred Thomason Grenfell. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 441 pp. Ill.

Thousands of Americans have been interested for years in the work of Labrador's famous missionary doctor. Everything that Dr. Grenfell has written about his life with the fishermen of Labrador and Newfoundland has found a host of interested readers in this country. He has felt impelled to write this autobiography in order to pass on certain of his personal experiences that may be helpful to others. Everyone who has read about Dr. Grenfell's work knows the nature of the story that he has to tell—one of adventure and conquest of the elements, mingled with self-sacrifice. The narrative is a cheerful and inspiring one.

FOUR TIMELY VOLUMES

The Army Behind the Army. By Major E. Alexander Powell. Charles Scribner's Sons. 470 pp. Ill.

At last we have the authentic story of what was done in the war by the men who wear silver chevrons—the men in all branches of the service who helped in the fight from this side of the ocean. In the writing of this book Major Powell has had the coöperation of the chiefs and sub-chiefs of the Army. Every chapter is a revelation. The marvels disclosed by Major Powell's account of "The Gas Makers," "Fighters of the Sky" and "M. I." are hardly less thrilling in their way than the stories that came to us from the European front. No one can claim to have even a passable knowledge of America's part in the war who has not read the disclosures of Major Powell's book.

To Kiel in the "Hercules." By Lieut. Lewis R. Freeman. Dodd, Mead and Company. 297 pp. Ill.

That there may be no possible misunderstanding we may state here that Lieutenant Freeman, notwithstanding his "R. M. B. R.," is an American—a California Native Son, we believe—and in former years has contributed not a few important articles to this REVIEW. He was a member of the staff of the Allied Naval Armistice Commission which proceeded to Germany immediately after the signing of the armistice, and he was the only correspondent accompanying that expedition. Thus he was one of the first representatives of the Allies to see Northern Germany at the end of the war, and incidentally he obtained German views of the battle of Jutland, and other episodes of the war. Lieutenant Freeman writes in a vivid, nervous style, and makes an entertaining story of his experiences.

Aircraft. By Evan John David. Charles Scribner's Sons. 307 pp.

Aeronautics develops so rapidly that its students will do well to secure the latest and most authoritative works on the subject. In this class is the new volume by Evan John David, managing editor of *Flying*. Mr. David traces the subject in a non-technical way from its earliest beginnings down through the military development of aviation during the war and including interesting accounts of the three successful cross-Atlantic flights of this year. His chapters on learning to fly, kinds of flying, the evolution of the Liberty and other airplane motors, the aero mail and aerial navigation and regulation contain much up-to-date and important material, while his discussion of the commercial future of flying is pertinent and valuable. Appendices to the volume contain a glossary of aeronautic terms, records of Allied and enemy "Aces," and official reports of airplane and engine production in the United States.

Books in the War. By Theodore Wesley Koch. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 388 pp. Ill.

One of the striking and largely unexpected developments of the American war service was the intelligent and well-directed effort to supply books and periodicals to the men at the front, in the camps, and on the ships. One of the men who has had best opportunities to know what this Library War Service really meant to the soldiers and sailors was Mr. Theodore Wesley Koch who contributed a partial account of the work to the REVIEW of REVIEWS for November, 1918. The present volume is not merely a history or report of results but a real "human interest" story of how books helped to win the war.